

AN ANALYSIS OF LOW INCOME DISPLACEMENT  
IN INTOWN NEIGHBORHOODS EXPERIENCING  
REHABILITATION

A THESIS

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by  
Lucien Kevin Johns


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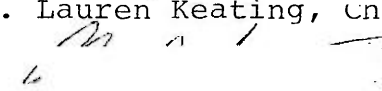
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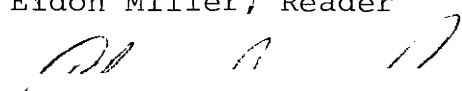
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"En los jardines del cielo  
es la hora del riego.  
Gotas de lluvia caen  
sobre pueblos y ciudades."

R. Dillich

This paper evolves from meeting, speaking and listening to many people. It evolves from living and working in inner-city communities, and finding the desires and aspirations of their residents.

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## SUMMARY

The paper analyzed the phenomenon of low income resident displacement from innercity rehabilitated neighborhoods. Two cases were selected in intown Atlanta neighborhoods to investigate conditions leading to the immigration of upper income residents and outmigration of low income residents. This analysis lead to an examination of specific policies and programs to be considered to protect intown neighborhoods from low income displacement. This discussion examined how successful non-profit neighborhood planning organizations have developed programs which accomplished their goal. Recommended elements are proposed as a guide to similar groups in Atlanta.

## CHAPTER I

## INTRODUCTION

Low income "people shuffling" is a direct characteristic of Atlanta's centripetal Back to the City movement. In its attempt to import upper income residents back into convenient inner city neighborhoods, Atlanta is exporting its poor. In the two instances documented in this paper, the massive wave of new migrants to intown areas is eroding the low income nature of these inner city communities.

Low income renters are particularly hard hit in popular redeveloped intown areas. Duplexes, multi-family units, garage apartments, and rooming and boarding homes are being converted or reconverted to single family dwellings. Rents are increasing significantly to preclude moderate and lower income residents from entering or remaining in their communities.

Home and property values have skyrocketed in intown Atlanta neighborhoods. As a result, the city's most important non-subsidized low income housing supply has been severely curtailed. Unless counter-balanced with neighborhood control measures, housing costs in communities will continue to soar beyond the reach of the poor. This danger is intensified by a residential housing succession process (filtering) which is singularly oriented toward upper income residents.

Low income residents cannot pay the increased rent and home costs. At an accelerating pace, the poor are shuffled by both municipal and private policy makers to denser, less desirable, housing accommodations. No major Atlanta intown redevelopment program presently requires preservation of the low income nature of neighborhoods on a unit-by-unit basis. Large planned unit developments in Atlanta neighborhoods have a documented tendency to export most low income families from their social communities before they are redeveloped. This condition is illustrated in two particular areas of intown development, Bedford-Pines and Clark Howell homes.

Bedford-Pines has been cleared of most homes and residents as a prelude to future development. Clark Howell developers have completed plans to raze much of the community and relocate its residents.

Clark Howell homes is a public housing project near the Georgia Institute of Technology where plans are being prepared to construct a luxury oriented planned unit development. A sound low income social community will be destroyed, and the possibility exists that housing situations for former residents will worsen. This community will be replaced by a condominium and apartment complex which will no doubt show a profit. However, no benefits will accrue to those persons with the severest needs. Low income families will have been relocated to a more socially and physically distant environ-

ment. The thesis of this paper suggests that this exporting of the poor from sound social communities to accommodate wealthy immigrants is a patently unfair and harmful process.

A central concern of this paper is community control of intown neighborhoods. Community control, coupled with effective management and planning schemes, is designed to protect low income residents from displacement as their neighborhoods are preserved. In this process, community residents are given technical tools to manage and plan neighborhood improvement programs.

By allowing residents to choose rehabilitation options, the seeds of self-help and citizen involvement are sown. Citizen involvement will lead to communities that insist upon no change from their existing population make-up, as well as ones that desire a wide range of improvement programs. The overdue development of a process of citizen decision-making is making considerable headway in various communities across the country. Cincinnati's Working Review Committee, over seventy Community Design Centers, and Rent Control Programs (for example, Berkeley, California) and others, are being implemented to give citizens an effective voice in localized decision making.

In this context, the paper addresses problems associated with municipal fears that, if upper income residents are not imported back to intown neighborhoods, the communities will fall one-by-one, leaving a wake of disaster

enroute to the suburbs. This "urban domino theory" suggests that the filtering process of housing succession will be carried to its extreme conclusion.

The cyclical nature of intown living suggests otherwise. Communities coexist based upon their physical design, borders, natural appeal, variety of housing, location, and economic advantage. It is no wonder that the intown revival began in Atlanta's park communities (Ansley, Grant, Inman, and Candler). Intown communities are very desirable residential areas, and continue to attract suburban middle income residents. However, the back to the city movement is currently displacing over 300 low income persons per year in only one intown neighborhood. Citywide, the scope of the problem can only be measured by the poor.

## CHAPTER II

### MIGRATION TRENDS BACK TO THE CITY

The revival of intown neighborhoods is a recognized trend throughout the country. How inner city neighborhoods are redeveloped, and the consequences of intown migration, are important questions facing cities today. There are inherent dangers in present "Back to the City" policies. The problem was assessed by Dr. George Grier, Vice President of the Washington Center for Metropolitan Studies in the following way:

If you look around Capitol Hill and the neighborhoods that surround it, they're being taken over in mass by more affluent people. Unfortunately, that leaves the question of where poor people live....We'd better solve that one.<sup>1</sup>

How to solve the question of displacement of low income residents from their traditional intown neighborhoods is the central problem by this paper. A set of neighborhood controls is proposed as the vital element in the Back to the City planning formula. Neighborhood controls over the redevelopment process can insure that low income residents are not shuffled from gray area to gray area as more affluent residents are attracted intown.

The methodology used in the paper is as follows:

1. Two intown neighborhoods in Atlanta, Ansley Park and Virginia Highlands, are investigated to determine the

extent and economics of residential displacement of low income residents from redeveloped intown areas;

2. Formulation of a methodology for protective policies for neighborhoods is prepared. This includes establishing structural, environmental, and socio-economic criteria for evaluating neighborhood conditions. Neighborhood improvement techniques are designed to insure resident control of the process, with particular emphasis on low income desires. The result of these investigations are, a) a matrix illustrating the composition of a neighborhood's population; b) an inventory of the physical condition of neighborhood structures and environment; and c) identification of neighborhood stages of decline or rehabilitation appropriate treatment levels.

3. Appropriate policy programs designed by neighborhood residents are geared toward "protecting" intown residents from displacement even to the exclusion of upper income groups. These techniques for policy formulation include: housing rent control programs, housing courts, "sweat-equity" rehabilitation programs, high risk and revolving rehabilitation funds, multi-level code enforcement programs, private banking consortiums, non-profit corporations, and volunteer efforts.

The emphasis is on the development of implementation-oriented policies which meet both the physical and fiscal needs of intown residents. Essentially, this means the

creation of a new balance in the current approach to inner city development policies. Back to the city policies are presently oriented toward promoting intown development by drawing suburban residents into the city. The proposed balance would weigh the benefits of redevelopment with existing neighborhood resources, its current residents, and their desires and political clout. This arrangement would boost neighborhood revitalization efforts while maintaining the existing population makeup of the community. Experiments with neighborhood improvement programs and growth controls are documented in this study where policies are recommended.

#### Explaining the Popularity of Intown Neighborhoods

A shift in lifestyles toward intown residential living is occurring throughout the United States. The urban redevelopment phenomenon is characterized by a trend of middle and upper income settlers immigrating to center city neighborhoods.

#### Consistent Trend in Redevelopment

Economics is an important inducement in the consistent trend toward redevelopment. Prospective homeowners find an usually large selection of inexpensive, spacious homes in center city neighborhoods. As Figure 1 illustrates, intown neighborhoods in Atlanta presently offer a wide range of prices for single-family homes. Even including the cost of rehabilitation, intown neighborhoods are economical. The



<u>Neighborhood</u>	<u>Avg. Price-Ranges</u>	<u>Predominant Architecture</u>
Adair Park	\$10,000-20,000	NR <sup>5</sup>
Adams Park	\$25,000-40,000	NR
Ansley Park	\$70,000 up	Manor Style
Brookwood Hills	\$60,000-90,000	Manor Style
Candler Park	\$20,000-40,000's	English Bungalow/Country
Collier Hills	Mid \$40,000-70,000's	NR
Druid Hills	\$60,000 up	English Tudor/Modern Gothic
Garden Hills	\$40,000-60,000	English Bungalow/Country
Grant Park	\$10,000-30,000	High Victorian
Home Park	\$10,000-20,000	English Bungalow/Country
Inman Park	\$30,000-60,000	High Victorian
Lenox Park	Mid \$40,000-60,000's	Manor Style
Midtown	\$30,000-60,000's	English Tudor/Gothic/Manor
Morningside	\$30,000-50,000's	Manor Style
Mozley Park	\$20,000-35,000	NR
Ormewood Park	Teens-Mid \$20,000's	NR
Peachtree Hills	Mid \$30,000-50,000	English Bungalow/Country
Poncey Highlands	Teens-\$40,000's	English Bungalow/Country
Sherwood Forest	\$50,000-70,000	NR
Virginia Highlands	\$20,000-40,000	English Bungalow/Country
West End	\$10,000-80,000	High Victorian

Figure 1. Intown Neighborhood Home Prices.

Source: Real Estate Atlanta, "Intown Neighborhoods," pg. 55, Land Data Corp., Atlanta, Georgia, 1976.

figure shows that six of the twenty-one neighborhoods in Atlanta have homes in the teen price (\$10,000-\$19,999) range. Several of these communities are the most popular, fastest-growing intown residential areas in the city. Grant Park, for instance, is rapidly experiencing rehabilitation of its High Victorian-style homes. Other areas such as the West End<sup>3</sup> neighborhood, are also experiencing successful rehabilitation.

This was a group of fine Victorian houses in derelict condition next to the Central Business District. The houses were bought for \$8,000-\$12,000 apiece and some have already been sold (after restoration) for \$80,000.<sup>4</sup>

In economic terms, the supply of inexpensive intown homes is inelastic and as the supply diminishes, it cannot be replaced. Both Grant Park and the West End rehabilitation are attracting the attention of urban real estate speculators.

The redevelopment trend has the backing of the city's major private sector planning group. The consistency of the redevelopment trend is awesome nonetheless. Central Atlanta Progress, a major people mover in the city, estimated in Back to the City: Housing Options for Central Atlanta<sup>6</sup> that intown restoration will "result in a net revenue surplus of from \$4 to \$6 million from higher assessments on the improved neighborhoods."<sup>7</sup> While viewed as a "surplus" from the point of view of the city and downtown business groups, the higher assessments are also an increased tax burden to low income homeowners in abutting properties. At first the assessed

value of restored areas increases proportionately to the number of rehabilitated residential units. This can occur gradually as the character of the community eases into the upper middle class mold or rapidly, as popular areas intown receive packaged residential transfusions, such as in Bedford-Pine and Clark-Howell homes. The latter types of economic operations hasten the low income displacement in direct contravention to the national goals of Community Development legislation.

This section documents the fact that there is a "consistent trend" - strong demand for intown living. There are two points within the section which lead to this conclusion, 1) there are many low priced, desirable homes in intown neighborhoods so the supply is there and, 2) downtown business and, from a financial point of view, the city, sees it is to their advantage to promote the trend.

### Shifts in Lifestyle

The explicit preference for suburban lifestyle shifted toward townhouses, garden apartments and condominiums in the 1960's.<sup>8</sup> This shift toward an urban lifestyle is presently occurring at a rapid rate in intown neighborhoods.

In Atlanta, the average stay of residents is two years and this time period is decreasing. This increased mobility is producing the loss of a perceived sense of community and belonging, of a real home, of neighbors, and of a meaningful tie to extended peer groups. Suburban living has developed

a stereotype for being artificial or too modern or plastic. This stereotype is sufficiently bolstered by suburban singles apartments, planned maintenance and recreational amenities (consistent with high density apartment-style living trends), and by distance. Geographic distance from major cultural, educational, and recreational facilities creates the need for an artificial means of peer group affiliation.

Because there is little sense of belonging or community in the seemingly distant and sterile suburban living, an increasingly mobile population is opting for a more accessible and friendly environment. The urban lifestyle satisfies particularly important economic and social needs associated with peer group access and development. Atlanta's large youth population, (and consequently mobile population) contributes to the trend in intown living.

Robert Dahl<sup>9</sup> argues that the separation of individuals from permanent groups that provide values and norms (family life and extended family) created anomie and an identity crisis. Acceptance of an urban culture is intrinsically tied to reestablishing kinship. Part of the appeal of intown living is its socializing effects. Accessibility to urban cultural resources is an important asset of intown living. In a city the size of Atlanta, the High Museum of Art, Civic Center, Omni, Fox Theater, Ballroom, rock clubs, Underground Atlanta, and the Stadium, are located less than fifteen to twenty blocks apart. Neighborhood park facilities honeycomb

intown neighborhoods with recreation activities. Three major universities are within minutes of Atlanta's intown neighborhoods. By reducing time and costs of transportation, more leisure activities are enjoyed and shared with peers. This cultural sharing suggests that much of the popularity of intown living is akin to the clustering behavior of similar ethnic cultures in urban conclaves, i.e., Italian, Greek, Polish, and Irish neighborhoods.

#### Description of the Intown Neighborhoods

The discussion which follows is a description of the two intown neighborhoods, Ansley Park and the Virginia Highlands area. The descriptions provide a backdrop for understanding the appeal of intown living.

##### Ansley Park

Ansley Park is a scenic park community located within two miles of Atlanta's central business district. Its geography is characterized by winding, narrow streets, several vest pocket and two larger, neighborhood parks, abundant open space and defined/buffered boundaries from major arterial roads.

As indicated by Figure 2, the neighborhood<sup>10</sup> is hemmed in by Peachtree Street on the west, and Piedmont Park on the east; there are no direct east-west traffic routes through the community. Several important physical characteristics of the neighborhood make it visually unique and

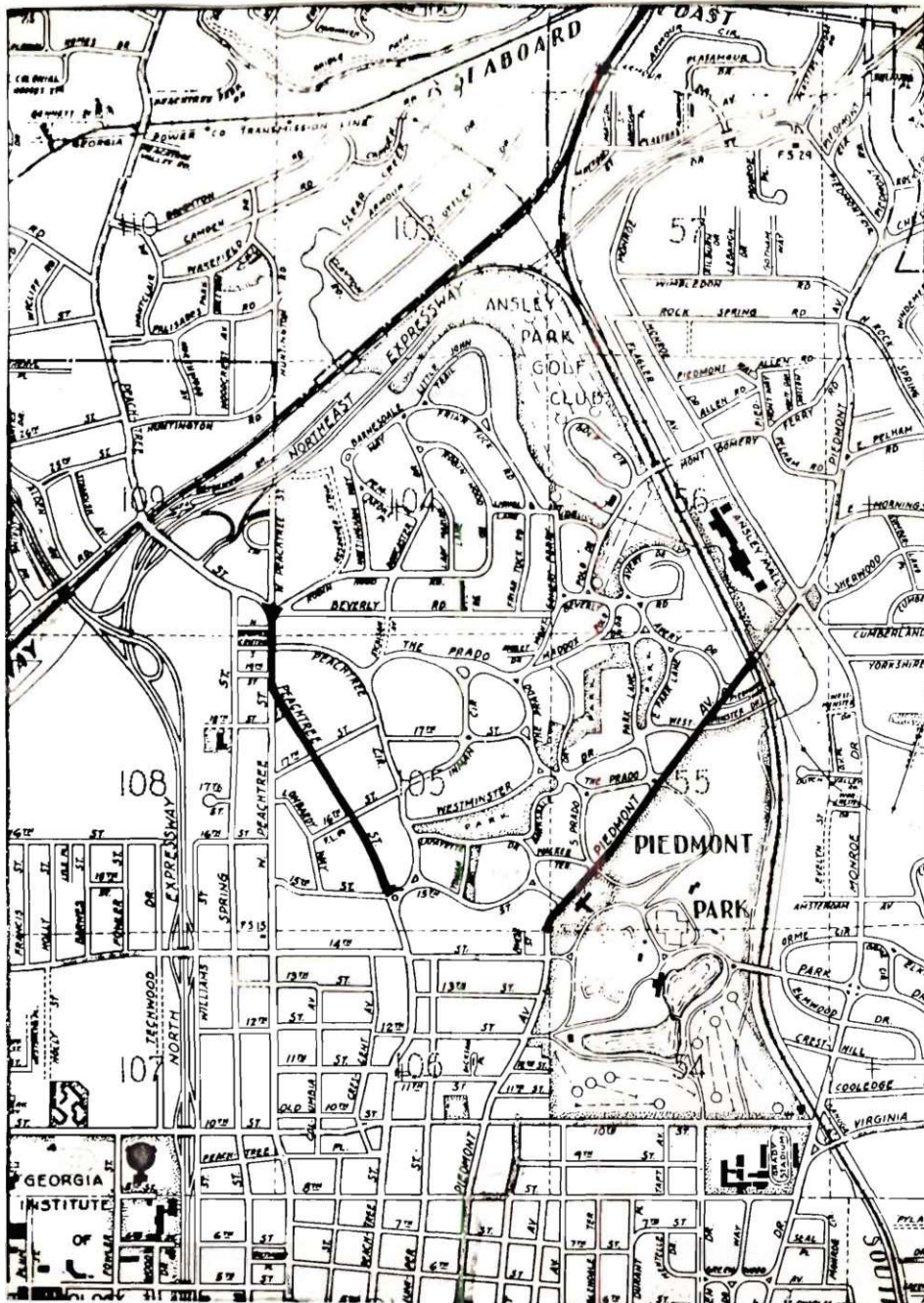


Figure 2. Illustration of Ansley Park.

attractive.

The photographs<sup>11</sup> which are described, illustrate these attributes, and their respective roles in the ongoing restoration of the neighborhood. Several important environmental elements are indicated.

Ansley Park is one of the most interesting and sought-after residential areas in Atlanta. The community is often compared to Georgetown<sup>12</sup> in Washington because of its outstanding collection of expensive, restored homes and mansions. Linear and vest pocket parks (shown in photograph 2) are found throughout the community.

The developer of the area, Edwin Ansley deeded extensive open space to the public, including golf courses and play areas. Landscape quality, trees, ravines, curving streets, and other desirable environmental elements have been developed to accommodate upper income residents.

The Ansley Park Civic Association similarly represents the wealthy norms of the community. Violations of property or building codes are immediately identified by APCA members. The identification of property and building violations is viewed by residents as a proper means of "jawboning" other residents into repairing, painting or maintaining their dwellings. It is also perceived as a means of applying pressure on undesirables who cannot, or refuse to follow municipal code standards. Other special issues concerning local residents are neighborhood crime (minimal) and zoning





Photograph 1: Georgia's Governor's Mansion in the past, this home typifies the high value and community spirit involved in prominent single-family residences. The majority of residential use is landscaped into large lots and grandiose white pillared residences.



Photograph 2: Ansley contains numerous small parks and open space. McClatchy Park, shown in the picture has two tennis courts, a chalet (shown), basketball courts, and swings, and child's play areas.

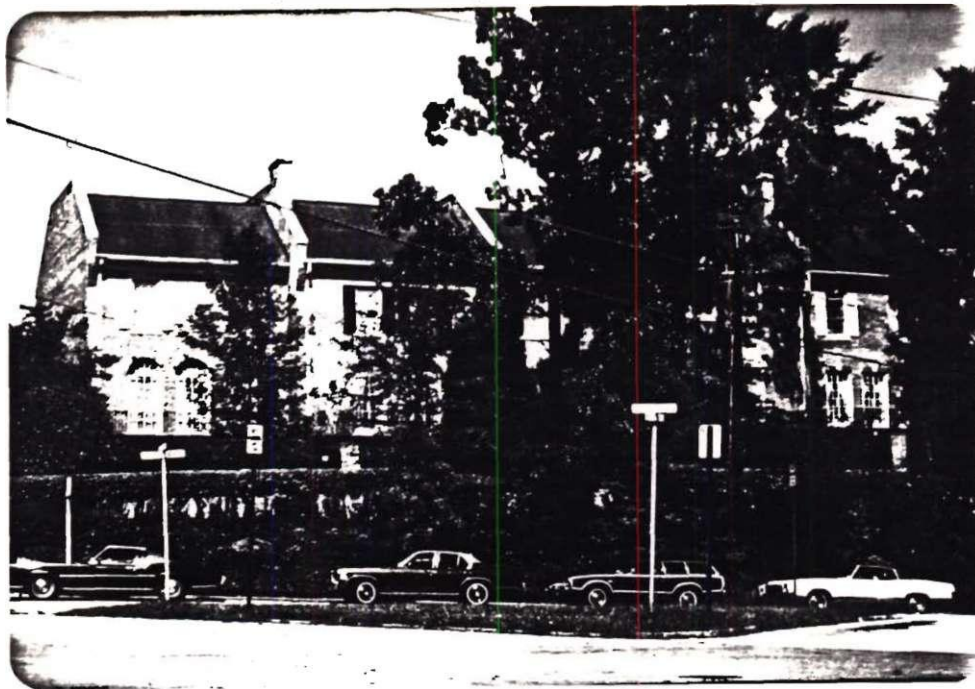




Photograph 3: One of the few remaining boarding and inexpensive renter-occupied mansions in the Park, this large home contains 12-14 living units in typically Georgian architecture.



Photograph 4: New Construction on Cul-de-sac.



Photograph 5: Exclusive townhouse condominium area - a recent addition to the eastern border of Ansley Park near Piedmont Park. The units are buffered from even local traffic by high landscaped shrubbery.



Photograph 6: Restoration of large single-family homes in Ansley is on-going. An example is shown here of a four bedroom home.





Photograph 7: Colony Square is a \$100 million plus, intown new town complex which anchors Ansley Park's southeast border against commercial intrusion on Peachtree Street. Nicknamed Micronopolis, the development features condominiums, luxury apartments, theaters, restaurants, shops, commercial office space, and an ice-skating rink.

changes.

A final important characteristic of the area is a very low turnover in homes and apartments in the community. There is considerable demand for residences in the neighborhood. As an overview, the neighborhood holds an historic sense of community, self protection and well-being.

### Virginia Highland

The Virginia Highland area is an attractive transitional neighborhood on Atlanta's northeast side. Visually, the community is characterized by unrepaired avenues and streets lined with large shade trees and shrubs. Residences in the neighborhoods present a variety in architectural styles, sizes, and maintenance characteristics.

The neighborhood has several physical appearances; at its worst, the community has aspects of uncompleted urban renewal; at its best, the area has a wide range of suburban and middle income bungalows.

As an early victim of intown highway construction, the neighborhood is pocketed with cleared rights-of-way from Highway I-485. The neighborhood is a paradox of California bungalow homes and Tudor mansions. I-485, an unbuilt intown connector highway, cut a path through the heart of the once thriving middle income neighborhood. Where this occurred, numerous homes have been destroyed, leaving only concrete stairs and grass and rock-covered landscapes where homes were once located. Abutting houses which were purchased and

condemned but not demolished, sit in a state of major disrepair.

This condition represents an important element of the area's transitional status. Aesthetically, the highway demolition caused much of the decline which occurred during the late 1960's. From Virginia Avenue, the major east-west auto corridor, the neighborhood appears most transitional and disrupted.

Another marginal part of the community is shown on the attached map. This area is the neighborhood's southern border along Ponce de Leon Avenue. Commercial strip development occurring in the Ponce de Leon highway corridor has contributed to the changing nature of residences several blocks into the community. This change is characterized by an expanded number of rooming homes, boarder houses, and inexpensive apartment complexes.

Upper and middle class homes are the norm in the center and northernmost areas of Virginia Highland. Spurred onward by inexpensive and accommodating residences, a major intown migration occurred during the early 1970's and continues into the present. Increased efforts have been made to restore Victorian-style mansions and to wall off the bungalow units from street view, expanding the size and privacy of individual residences.

Virginia Highland's population is just over 9,000 persons.<sup>15</sup> The neighborhood has a large elderly population

(twenty-four percent) and a small non-white group (.5 percent as of 1970 Census figures). Generally, the community is very well educated with forty-one percent of the total "enrolled" persons attending local Atlanta colleges. The upper income demographic transformation which is occurring throughout the community is dramatic, as discussed in Chapter III of this paper.

The statistics presented in that chapter will describe the community's ascent to upper middle class status. Pictures which follow illustrate the diversity of the present neighborhood and point to trends which are occurring throughout Virginia Highlands as elements of the community are restored and rehabilitated.

#### Back to the City in Atlanta - Three-Fold Aim of the Present Policy

Back to the city is a planning policy which strongly encourages the migration of middle class residents and suburbanites into inner city neighborhoods. The present state of the policy in Atlanta is described and analyzed under the headings of leverage of private funds, municipal development plans, and planned unit developments.

#### Leverage of Private Funds

A Mortgage Consortium program has been established to normalize inner city loan procedures for first mortgage and rehabilitation loans over the next five years. Seventeen Atlanta financial institutions have agreed to support private

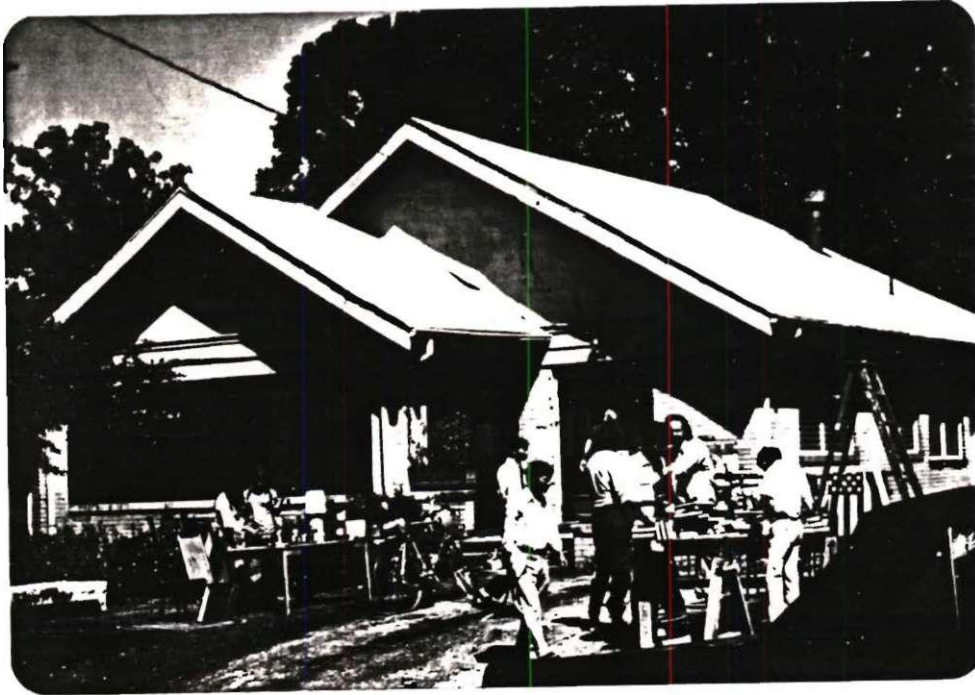


Photograph 8: Numerous rooming and boarder homes spot the southern boundary of Virginia Highland. The transitional areas of the neighborhood are inexpensive multi-family homes converted from large single-family units. These residences provide nice inexpensive homes primarily for blue collar migrant workers.



Photograph 9: Inexpensive but well-designed and maintained, low-use apartments are an important element of Virginia Highland living.





Photograph 10: Garage sales are commonplace in this neighborhood where people get involved. Open houses and block parties are used to encourage citizen activism in neighborhood affairs.



Photograph 11: Designed for Georgia's early governors, this Victorian mansion displays some of the best of Virginia Highland living. The home which is shown is located only blocks from the I-485 rights-of-way.





Photograph 12: Elderly residents of the Virginia Highland represent a major element of the area's population (twenty-four percent), human service requests, and home maintenance needs.

sector actions in an effort to accelerate renewal of intown neighborhoods. Commitments are aimed at eliminating so-called "red lining"<sup>16</sup> for intown areas as high risk. These commitments are incentives for middle and upper income families only. An important point of the program was that "Underwriting criteria regarding credit-worthiness of the borrower will be the same as for applications on suburban properties."<sup>17</sup> Although the program commits banking institutions to several long-needed lending reforms, it falls far short of what is most needed - guarantees on high risk mortgage and rehabilitation loans for lower income households.

The mortgage pledge of \$60,000,000 by the institutions is more thinking than loaning. There are no targeted neighborhoods; there are no low income provisions; there are no enforcement provisions requiring banks and loan associations to fulfill commitments; and, there was no participation from high level municipal authorities in the formation of the Consortium. In the single-mindedness of the mortgage program, private funds are available only to persons now capable of outright purchase of homes.

#### Municipal Development Plans

Plans for redeveloping inner city neighborhoods have been prepared by the Department of Planning and Budget, the Department of Community Development and Human Resources, Neighborhood Organizations and Central Atlanta Progress,<sup>18</sup> a downtown business group. With the exception of the

Neighborhood Planning Unit Section of the Department of Planning and Budget, there are minimal "protection" elements in neighborhood plans designed to prevent the displacement of low income residents from popular intown neighborhoods. The activity in all areas suggests that traditional planning programs are inadequate for encouraging low income residents to maintain and rehabilitate their homes. In the face of public and private sector financial obstacles, poor residents cannot compete for available monies in their own communities.

Municipal development plans suffer from four common problems: 1) there is lack of interdepartmental or inter-governmental cooperation in implementing neighborhood improvement plans oriented to low income groups; 2) there is little community control over redevelopment programs affecting marginal (low and working class) neighborhoods in the city; 3) where implementation of public plans occur, as in the distribution of 1976 Community Development Funds, activities have been improperly targeted to provide measurable impacts upon community life; and, 4) city/private redevelopment efforts have not worked together in pooling monetary resources to leverage available funds. Consequently, \$56,000,000<sup>19</sup> in Community Development Funds provided to Atlanta have minimal federal or private matching provisions. Similarly, the press figure of \$60,000,000 in the private sector Mortgage Consortium, was developed without municipal input. By not leveraging existing resources there was/is no sharing of risks.

These omissions hinder efforts to seriously provide assistance to low income residents.

### Planned Unit Developments

Privately financed new town-intown residential developments are commonly called planned unit developments (P.U.D.). An important facet of the Back to the City movement is extending suburban-type luxury apartments and condominiums into the center city. These large scale P.U.D.'s accomplish this function while providing shopping, theaters, restaurants and speciality stores in the same complex. The \$100,000,000-plus Colony Square Development which borders Ansley Park at Peachtree Street is a good example. Colony Square, also called Micronopolis, is a high rise complex of exclusive apartments, condominiums, office space, hotel, restaurants, ice skating and entertainment. The presence of the accommodations and general demeanor of the complex enhances the reputation of the entire Ansley Park area. Several P.U.D.'s are proposed for transitional neighborhoods in the Atlanta center city including Bedford-Pine and the Clark Howell Homes Public Housing area adjacent to Georgia Institute of Technology. The P.U.D. can be a good system for renewal in intown neighborhoods where effectively located. The social movement of immigrants to large apartment-styled living can serve the dual purpose of attracting wealth to intown areas without displacing or speculating on the community's physical resources. However, concentrated intown highrise residential development

does not presently minimize the displacement of existing residents in the neighborhood.

### Summary

This chapter presents an overview of the Atlanta intown rehabilitation process. It discusses the growing popularity of intown neighborhoods in terms of intown redevelopment trends and shifts in desirability of an urban lifestyle. In similar fashion two selected intown neighborhoods were described to illustrate the character, environment and flavor of these popular areas. The final section of the chapter describes current "back to the city" policies which guide the intown rehabilitation processes.

These discussions steer the reader through the fundamental precepts of the intown movement. The chapter provides a background for the analysis of low income displacement in intown neighborhoods. In the next chapter, analysis of Low Income Displacement, two case studies are investigated to determine the extent of upper and lower income change in each neighborhood. Ansley Park is viewed as a neighborhood which has completed rehabilitation. Virginia Highland is entering the rehabilitation process presently. The paper ultimately proposes intown rehabilitation schemes which balance "back to the city" policies with protection policies for low income families.

## FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER II

- \* Introduction: Two major intown development policies are referred to here: Bedford-Pines and Clark-Howell Homes, a public housing project near the Georgia Institute of Technology; p. 114, Real Estate Atlanta, January 1975.
- 1. "Lifestyle and Business Changes Coming Rapidly; Many Trends Significant to Planners," AIP Newsletter; Dr. George Grier, Vice President to the Washington Center for Metropolitan Studies, Washington, D. C., March 1975.
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- 3. "The Evolving Strategy," Real Estate Atlanta, Atlanta, Georgia, Land Data Corporation, November and December 1975.
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14. I-485 was an intown connector highway that became an important focal point for local civic groups fighting against neighborhood destruction.
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16. Redlining refers to illegal elements of the Federal Home Disclosure Act 1976.
17. Interview with John Leak and Michael Norris of C & S Bank, in conjunction with CAP Mortgage Consortium Program, See Appendix I.
18. Ibid.
19. Ibid.

### CHAPTER III

#### ANALYSIS OF LOW INCOME DISPLACEMENT

Migration to the suburbs from intown neighborhoods in the 1950-1960's were described as the "great white flight." During these years, inner city neighborhoods were quickly abandoned, leaving the urban conclaves, as Lewis Mumford described it, to the poor, black, and trapped. The reverse filtering trend which is discussed in this paper began during the Johnson Administration's War on Poverty years,<sup>1</sup> and gained serious attention in the last five years when neighborhood groups began fighting with inner city highway programs.

The character of low income displacement is discussed in terms of two Atlanta neighborhoods. The Virginia Highland neighborhood is used as a gray area case study. As a transitional area, it offers testimony to the displacement problem under investigation. Ansley Park is the area which has previously undergone rehabilitation and is presently one of the most affluent neighborhoods in Atlanta. Its analysis shows the degree of exclusivity and displacement which can be reached. By comparing the change in the population makeup of the two communities, an estimation of the displacement problem will be developed.



### Ansley Park: Study Case

Table 1 which follows, shows the change in the low character of Ansley Park from 1960 to 1970, and 1975. Three indicators were used to measure the economic character of the community: housing value, family income, and the percent of renter-occupied housing units. As the table depicts, the transformation of the community from marginal-near-slum to upper-income was dramatic. Average house values in the community rose approximately 300 percent over the fifteen year period, rising from \$22,800 in 1960 to an estimated \$70,000 in 1975. Present estimates of Ansley Park home prices by Real Estate Atlanta (Figure 1) now range from \$70,000 and up. Median family income rose an equally amazing 85 percent over the 1960-1970 period. In the same period, the number of renter-occupied units first increased by less than one percent (during the 1960-1970), then dropped by an estimated 5.5 percent in the five-year period ending in 1975.

The trend exhibited by the Ansley Park transformation clearly shows that the number of low income residents has dwindled significantly during the investigation period. Renters in particular, lost hold because of the tremendous increase in rents and in the value of homes in Ansley Park. The trend suggests that low income residents have migrated to other transitional areas where rent and home costs are less. There is no way to trace these migrations, and as other abutting gray area neighborhoods are rehabilitated, the displacement

Table 1. Change in Low Income Character of Ansley Park  
1960-1975.

	1960	1970	1975	1960-1975 Change	1960-1975 % Change
Median Housing Value	22.8 <sup>1</sup>	38.5 <sup>2</sup>	70.0 <sup>4</sup>	49.9	300%
Median Family Income	8,212	15,162	NA	6,950	85%
Percent Renter-Occupied	59.5 <sup>1</sup>	59.6 <sup>2</sup>	54.0 <sup>3</sup>	5.5	5.5%

1. U. S. Census of Population and Housing 1960, City Block Characteristics, Table 2, U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C., 1962.
2. U. S. Census of Population and Housing 1970, City Block Characteristics, U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C., 1962.
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process is expected to continue. As shown in Figure 3, Virginia Highland and Midtown are the transitional neighborhoods which, because of proximity and home values, are conceivably receiving low income former residents of Ansley Park.

While the natural filtering process of housing ownership from rich, to moderate, to poor families, is an ongoing process, the stimulation provided for upper income persons (i.e., private mortgage consortiums) is creating shortages in low cost units. The result of this process is a shrinking supply of non-subsidized low income homes.

Because there has been no dramatic increase in overcrowding in Ansley Park, it is assumed that low income residents are leaving. The movement suggests that the intown social communities of low income families are being destroyed, and the possibility that their housing situations have worsened is increasing.

#### Neighborhood Economic Character

Ansley Park came into existence in 1904 when E. P. Ansley began developing residential lots for sale to the northwest of Piedmont Park. The community was advertised as a private residential suburb with "Recreation Right at Your Door."<sup>2</sup> In fact, the neighborhood did become a successful upper income residential area. But in the manner of most intown communities, it has experienced numerous transitions, including a 1960's decline which had left homes and apartments

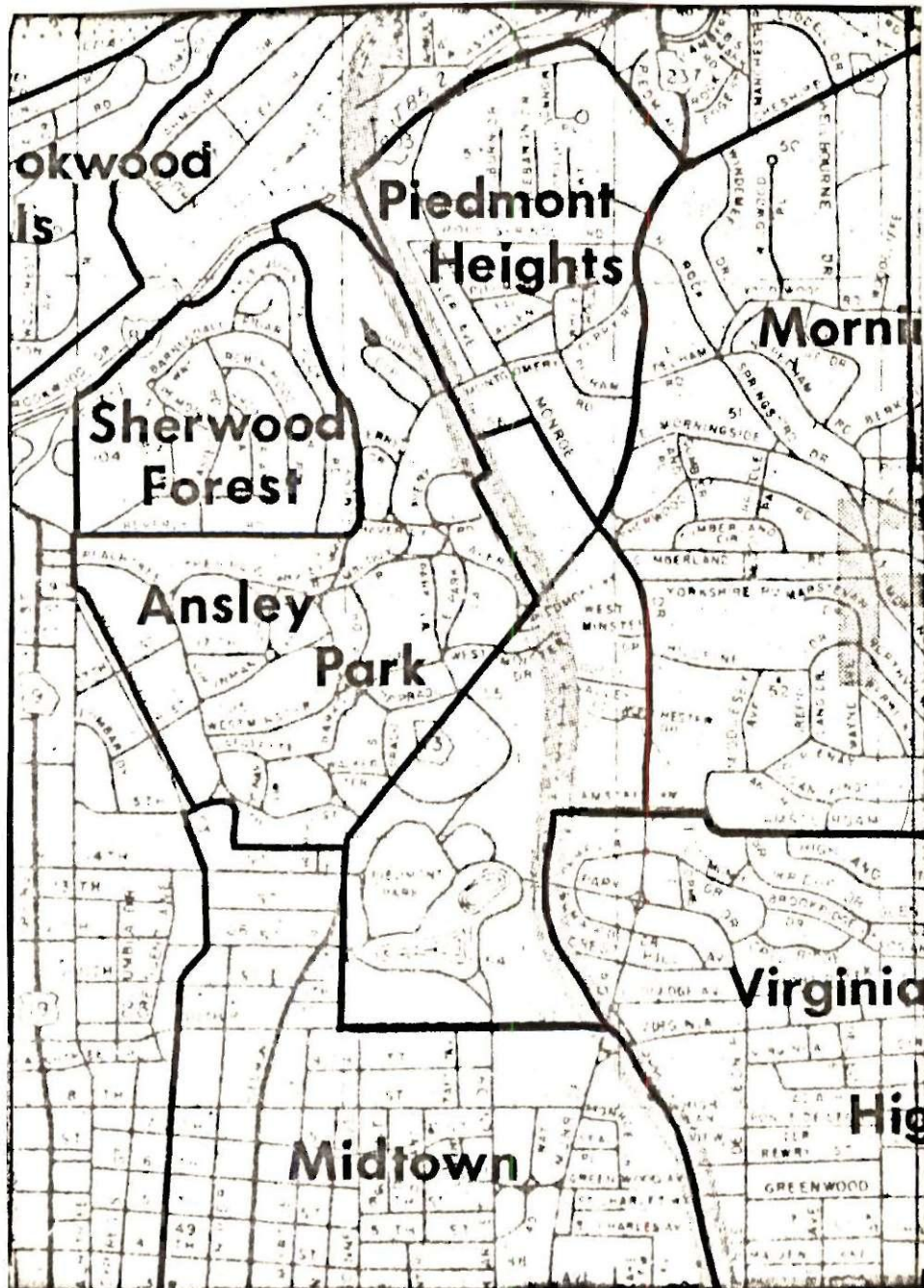


Figure 3. Intown Neighborhoods Abutting Ansley Park.

on the neighborhood's southern and eastern borders in a state of disrepair. (Along 14th Street and also Piedmont Road.)

The three economic indicators shown in the table illustrate the comparative strength of Ansley Park in several economic categories. Ansley Park outstrips the county and city in relative income and housing costs for both 1960 and 1970. Particularly important economic data depicts the upper income nature of Ansley Park in 1970.

Median family income in Ansley Park increased by 85% in the ten year census period. At this pace the community continues at nearly double the income of families in Atlanta. Also revealed in the census income distribution is the fact that 25% of 298 families<sup>3</sup> in Ansley have incomes above \$25,000, and over 54% of 655 of the 1,185 families<sup>4</sup> had incomes over \$15,000. The prevailing nature of the community is upper class.

Median home values in Ansley Park are among the highest in the city. As shown in Table 2, the average home value in Ansley far out-distanced increases in Fulton County and the City of Atlanta. Values between 1960 and 1970 increased by 85% from \$22,450 to \$38,500 per unit. For the City of Atlanta as a whole, including new construction, the average value of homes during this period increased less than one half of the absolute increase experienced in Ansley and slightly more than three quarters (.778) of the relative increase. Further,

Table 2. Economic Characteristics of Fulton County,  
Atlanta and Ansley Park, 1960-1970.

Economic Indicators	1960			1970			Percent Change		
	Fulton	Atlanta	Ansley	Fulton	Atlanta	Ansley	Fulton	Atlanta	Ansley
Median Family Income	\$ 5,207	\$ 4,942	\$ 8,212	\$ 9,359	\$ 8,646	\$15,162	+77	+95	+85
Median Home Value	12,400	12,300	22,450	19,200	17,400	38,500	+54	+41	+71
Median Contract Rent	65	65	84	83	80	94	+28	+23	+17

Source: U. S. Census of Population and Housing 1960, Census Tract Report, No. 1-8, Table P-1, U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C., 1962 and U. S. Census of Population and Housing 1970, Census Tract Report, No. 14-19, Table P-4, Table H-1, U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C., 1972.

Real Estate Atlanta, a land development magazine, estimated in January 1976 that the average cost of homes in Ansley Park had reached \$70,000.<sup>5</sup> This is an 85% increase in home values in five years; or the equivalent of the total ten year increase from 1960-1970. It was not possible to determine citywide increases during this same five year period. However, intown neighborhood home prices, as shown in Figure 1, Chapter II, illustrate only two areas have open ended price ranges, Ansley Park and Druid Hills which is located in Dekalb County. With the 1970's home value increases there also occurred a major influx of professional persons in Ansley Park. Homes suffering from lack of maintenance, and multifamily units were rehabilitated or reconverted to restored conditions.

Median contract rent in Ansley Park increased by 17% during the 1960-1970 census period. Although this increase was at a slower rate than the county or city, it was a substantial increase nonetheless. An investigation was conducted to trace rent increased during the 1970's. In a 1976 sample survey conducted by telephone, eight apartment complexes with ten or more dwelling units were contacted. These complexes represent a majority of apartment complex dwellings in the Ansley Park area. Median rent for the one bedroom standard apartment was just over \$200. The mean was \$230 per unit. The range for rent as described by the local realtors was \$185 and up. Based upon 1970 median contract rent data for Ansley Park, roughly a 100% increase has occurred from



\$94 in 1970 to \$200 in 1976. This change suggests that increased rent costs have been sufficient to displace low income residents from traditional older homes and apartments in the neighborhood.

Because apartment life style represents over 55% of the occupied dwelling units in Ansley Park, rent increases have had a tremendous impact on who can reside in the neighborhood. Generally, neighborhood residents have observed a slight decline in the actual number of apartments and a dramatic rise in the rent of remaining units.

#### Demographic Character

The demographic character of Ansley Park is explored below according to two key indicators, educational attainment and age distribution. These factors, coupled with the previous analyses, point out predominant trends in the neighborhood.

Table 3 illustrates the median school years completed in 1960 and 1970 in Fulton County, Atlanta and Ansley Park. Comparatively, Ansley Park has a significantly higher educational attainment level than either the county or city during this ten year period. Ansley's 13.9 year figure is equivalent to any in the city or county. The increasing number of post graduate residents of the area is particularly significant in census tract 4 of Ansley which has a 14.3 years of school completed average. As indicated by the figures, Ansley Park has achieved significant status as a home for professional persons and families.



Table 4 depicts the relationship of elderly age populations in the county, city and Ansley Park. As the table illustrates, a disproportionate number of elderly residents lived in Ansley in 1970. Although recent figures are not available it is apparent to residents that this number is declining due to natural mortality and increasing numbers of young immigrant families.

These demographic indicators give an overview of the character of Ansley Park. Other factors such as race and sex differences were investigated but found to be insignificant. Results of the analysis show Ansley Park to have acquired the upper income characteristics usually associated with only exclusive suburban developments.

#### Summary

As a Study Case in the analysis of low income displacement, Ansley Park provides a good example of complete restoration. Ansley has been rehabilitated from a 1960's low and moderate income community. This restoration is continuing in nearby intown communities such as Virginia Highlands, West End, and Inman, Grant and Candler Parks.

The analysis of Ansley Park demonstrates certain trends in community development. Ten years ago, Ansley Park accommodated considerable numbers of low and fixed income residents. In 1976, Ansley has become exclusive. Low income persons including transients, students, and minorities who once resided in Ansley Park, have been displaced directly and

Table 3. Median School Years Completed in Fulton County, Atlanta and Ansley Park, 1960-1970.

1960			1970		
Fulton	Atlanta	Ansley	Fulton	Atlanta	Ansley
10.6	10.4	13.0	12.0	11.6	13.9

Source: U. S. Census of Population and Housing 1960, Census Tract Reports, No. 1-8, Table P-1, and U. S. Census of Population and Housing 1970, Census Tract Reports, No. 14-19, U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C., 1962 and 1972.

Table 4. Percent of Elderly in Fulton County, Atlanta and Ansley Park, 1970.

Area	Percent 65 Years and Above	Percent Living on Social Security
Fulton County	14.6%	14.7%
Atlanta	13.9%	14.2%
Ansley Park	26.1%	26.5%

Source: Census of Population and Housing 1970, Census Tract Reports, No. 14-19, U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C., 1972.

indirectly as a result of increased rent costs, single-family rehabilitation from multi-family units, increased home values, civic pressure, and increased taxes associated with the rise of area property values.

An unobtrusive low income displacement trend is generally not publicized because few residents end up out in the street. Rather, the displacement is a process of attrition which, over the last five years, has become noticeable. Nevertheless, the cumulative effects of the displacement are obvious when compared to the tremendously increased rent and housing costs of Ansley Park.

In the Virginia Highland neighborhood, a similar economic and demographic investigation is conducted. The analysis questions whether immigrants to the Virginia Highland exhibit the same upper income characteristics as those residents who have so completely restored Ansley Park. Based on the extent of this upper income immigration, and subsequent low income displacement, proposals for community control of neighborhood improvement are recommended.

#### Virginia Highland: Transitional Neighborhood

The second investigation is an analysis of the transition of Virginia Highland from a low and moderate income neighborhood to an upper and middle income community. This comparison begins with an investigation of the 1970 economic character of the neighborhood. Complementing this investigation is a real

estate and homeowner survey analysis of new immigrants to Virginia Highland. The result of the comparison is an established trend of upper and middle income repopulation of the neighborhood. The extent of lower income displacement is shown by the reverse trend of migration. Estimates of the number of displaces are discussed in the final section.

#### Neighborhood Economic Character

Two indicators are shown in Table 5 which illustrates the economic strength of Virginia Highland in 1970. Median family income, and median home values depict the neighborhood's moderate economic character prior to numerous home buyer immigrations occurring between 1971-1976. Fulton County and the City of Atlanta data provide an overview of the general economic conditions of the metropolitan area.

#### Demographic Character

Other characteristics can be viewed through demographic indicators such as occupational, age and educational makeup of the neighborhood. These indicators help to illustrate the general socio-economic status of the area residents.

Table 6 describes the occupational status of Virginia Highland in 1970. The area has a large number of residents in moderate income occupations. With 29% of the residents in typical blue collar occupations and another 48% in sales and clerical employment, the overall moderate income, working class nature of the neighborhood is established.

Table 5. Economic Characteristics of Fulton County, Atlanta and Virginia Highland for 1970.

Economic Indicators	1970		
	Fulton	Atlanta	Virginia Highland
Median Family Income	\$ 9,359	\$ 8,646	\$ 6,496
Median Home Value	\$19,200	\$17,400	\$17,493

Source: U. S. Census of Population and Housing 1970, Census Tract Report, No. 14-19, U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C., 1972 and Atlanta's Neighborhoods, Atlanta Public Library, Atlanta, Georgia, 1976.

Table 6. Occupational Status of Virginia Highland in 1970.

Status	Number	Percent
Total Employed	4,821	100%
Male	2,520	52%
Female	2,301	48%
Skilled Labor	830	17%
Unskilled	557	12%
Sales	Not Available	20%
Clerical	Not Available	28%

Source: Atlanta's Neighborhood, Atlanta Public Library, Atlanta, Georgia, 1976.

Elderly age distribution as shown in Table 7 is used to describe the age and maintenance needs of the neighborhood. The census statistics indicate that 24% of the residents in Virginia Highlands were sixty five years of age or older in 1970 compared to the citywide average of 13.9%. This is a clear indicator of the maintenance and social service needs of the neighborhood. It is also, and perhaps equally important, a harbinger of the immigration potential of the neighborhood. Mortality and disabilities associated with aging have provided increased numbers of low cost homes for sale in the neighborhood. The high number of elderly residents point to the general time period when migrations occur.

With over 10% greater number of elderly residents than Fulton County or the city, the changing character of the area is demonstrated. This percentage amply describes a climaxing in one phase of the neighborhood's continuous process of a change. As indicated in Table 8, the area's twenty-five and older population exhibited a decline in educational level between 1960 and 1970. During this ten-year period, the number of school years completed by residents dropped in several important categories. In particular, the number of high school and college graduates declined.

Numerically, all three educational categories declined. The table includes data from nearby Morningside, which is an upper income community to the north of Virginia Highland. Inclusion of this data should overstate the educational

Table 7. Percent of Elderly in Fulton County,  
Atlanta and Virginia Highland in 1970.

Area	Percent 65 Years and Above
Fulton	14.6%
Atlanta	13.9%
Virginia Highland	24.1%

Source: U. S. Census of Population and Housing 1970, Census Tract Reports, U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C., 1972 and Atlanta's Neighborhood, Atlanta Public Library, Atlanta, Georgia, 1976.

Table 8. Years of School Completed in  
Virginia Highland/Morningside,  
1960-1970.

	1960		1970	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
High School - 4 Years	4,252	33%	3,323	29%
College - 1 to 3 Years	2,448	19%	2,168	19%
College - 4 Years or More	3,171	24%	1,970	17%

Source: 1960 U. S. Census of Population, Socio-Economic Characteristics, U. S. Government Printing Office, 1970 U. S. Census of Population, Socio-Economic Characteristics by Census Tracts, Washington, D. C., 1972.

attainment of Virginia Highland.

Overall, the demographic profile explains to the reader that Virginia Highland in 1970 was a low to moderate income neighborhood. The area had slightly lower incomes than the city and approximately the same average in home values. According to other demographic indicators such as occupation, age distribution and educational attainment, the community was primarily blue collar or working class in nature.

The next section describes the transition of Virginia Highland to a middle and upper income community. A study of middle and upper income migration patterns to the area in 1973 is discussed. A 1976 investigation of housing values in the area is also presented to further define the immigration trend. Effects of this upper income immigration on low income residents is presented in the final section on displacement.

#### New Migration Trends

An analysis of middle and upper income migration patterns to the Virginia Highland was completed in March, 1973. The investigation is used in this paper to document significant economic and population changes in Virginia Highlands between 1970 and 1973. Another investigation of 1976 housing values in the neighborhood was conducted to establish a trend line for estimates of low income displacement. Both investigations establish that displacement is concurrent with new immigration trends.

The first study and survey were prepared by



S. McWilliams<sup>9</sup> as part of a Master's thesis for the GSU Urban Life Program. The survey was designed to investigate the background and motivation of people moving to the Virginia Highland neighborhood between April 1, 1970 and March 31, 1973. A survey was conducted of new homeowners in Virginia Highland during the survey period. Eliminated from the list of potential respondents were: commercial purchasers, property transfers, and multiple transactions.

In this survey, 118 of 169 new home owners in the neighborhood were interviewed and socio-economic characteristics of the immigrants were tabulated. The brief discussions below highlight the significant characteristics of the study.

#### Economic Character of Immigrants

Two economic indicators were used to investigate the income character of new migrants to the neighborhood, income distribution and costs of homes purchased. Other indicators such as occupation, age and education were also investigated.

The new migrants were much more affluent than the average 1970 resident of the community. The income distribution resulting from the study is depicted below. Several important factors are shown in Table 9. The most significant factor is the overall upper income nature of the new residents. Median family income for the immigrants is \$19,524, which is nearly three times the 1970 median family income for the neighborhood. Because the income distribution from 1969 for the area includes upper income Morningside, the change is all

the more dramatic.

The profile of new immigrants to the Virginia Highland represents a major reversal in the usual transition of neighborhoods from stability to decline or maturity. Instead of low income housing filtering process, a reverse trend is occurring. Immigrants who have the resources to move to suburban environments are choosing instead to purchase homes intown.

The cost of housing is important. There is always an economic element in major investment. As Table 10 illustrates, the residents in every case purchased homes at a cost not to be found in suburban area. The low cost of the houses is most evident in the \$20,000-\$24,900 price range where forty-one percent of the transactions occurred.

#### Demographic Character

Immigrants to the Virginia Highland exhibited several class characteristics consistent with their age and educational background. Occupational profiles of these new residents indicated that fifty-seven percent of the 116 new homeowners were in the professional and technical occupations. This is a marked change from the seventeen percent average in the same professions prior to the migrations.

Generally the new immigrants were younger, better educated, and with much higher incomes than the average blue collar resident of Virginia Highland. Exactly eighty percent of the new residents were between the ages of twenty and thirty-nine years. Of the total 116 homeowners interviewed,

Table 9. Income Distribution Virginia Highlands  
Immigrants, 1971-1973.

	Percent Migrants 1973	Percent Virginia/Morningside 1969
\$ 8,000-14,000	31%	41%
15,000-24,999	42%	18%
25,000-over	14%	7%
Median	\$19,524	\$6,496 <sup>9</sup>

Source: S. McWilliams, Master's Thesis, G. S. U. Urban Life Program, Atlanta, Georgia, 1973.

Table 10. Costs of Homes Purchased - Virginia Highlands  
1971-1973.

Cost of House	Number of Houses	Percent of Houses
\$ 5,000-\$ 9,999	1	1
\$10,000-\$14,999	5	4
\$15,000-\$19,000	32	27
\$20,000-\$24,999	48	41
\$25,000-\$29,999	18	15
\$30,000-\$34,999	6	5
\$35,000-\$39,999	2	2
\$40,000 and over	1	1
No data reported	5	4
Total	118	100

Median Home Value: \$22,195

Total most prevalent

range \$15,000-\$30,000      98      82

Source: S. McWilliams, Virginia Highland, Structured Survey  
G. S. U., Atlanta, Georgia, 1973.

eighty-seven percent had some college background and thirty-three percent were involved in post graduate studies. This contrasts with the seventeen percent of Virginia Highland's residents who had completed four or more years of college education in 1970.

#### Preference for an Urban Lifestyle

Interviewers also questioned new migrants to the neighborhood on their preference for an urban lifestyle. In this structured survey, recent home buyers were asked to rank their reasons for moving to the Virginia Highland.

<u>Percent</u>	<u>Attracting Factor</u>
73	Closeness to downtown (CBD)
72	Preference for an old house
70	Low cost of house for amount of space
69	Rejection of the suburbs
66	Closeness to job
40	Closeness to job of second adult
29	Proximity to university
27	Having friends in the area
9	Closeness to a school other than a university

Figure 4. Reasons for Moving to Virginia Highland.

Source: S. McWilliams, Master's Thesis, p. 75, G.S.U., 1973  
Atlanta, Georgia.

As the results of the survey indicate, the immigrants are primarily concerned with three attracting factors, all of which relate to urban rather than suburban lifestyles. Factors such as the inexpensive cost of the home heavily contributed to the decision.

#### 1976 Home Values

An investigation was conducted to determine median home values in the Virginia Highlands in 1976. In the real estate analysis nine realtors in the neighborhood were interviewed to estimate the price range of homes in the area. Thirteen single family homes and four duplexes were priced on a random basis throughout the neighborhood. Table 11 depicts the price range for those homes surveyed. Of the nine realtors responding to price questions, four who were familiar with the community indicated that the \$35,000-\$40,000 range to be most accurate. All indicated that the area's popularity was shown by the greatly increased demand for single family homes in the neighborhood.

This observation is confirmed by higher home costs shown in the table. The median value of single family dwellings is \$39,500 and multifamily dwellings of \$50,000 according to the December 1976 investigations. Figure 5 graphically illustrates the ascent of prices from a 1970 median value of \$17,493 to a 1973 median value of \$22,195 and finally to a 1976 high of \$39,500 per unit. The six year increase from 1970 to 1976 is over \$20,000 per single family dwelling and

Table 11. Price Range of Homes for Sale in  
Virginia Highlands, 1976.

Area	Price of Unit	
	Single Family	Multi-Family
Briarcliff	\$39,500	
St. Louis	\$36,500 \$41,000 \$46,500	
Lanier		\$58,000 \$48,000 \$52,000
King's Court	\$36,000	
Amsterdam	\$49,900	
Rosedale	\$13,000 \$49,900 \$35,000	
Yorkshire	\$35,000	
Virginia	\$55,000 \$35,000 \$40,000	\$45,000
Median	\$39,500	\$50,000

Cates Realty estimates at	\$35,000 - \$40,000
Williams and Company estimates range at	\$35,000 - \$40,000
Northside Realty estimates range at	\$20,000 - up
Barton and Ludwig estimates range at	\$35,000 - \$50,000

Source: Real Estate Interviews, December 17, 1976, Atlanta, Georgia.

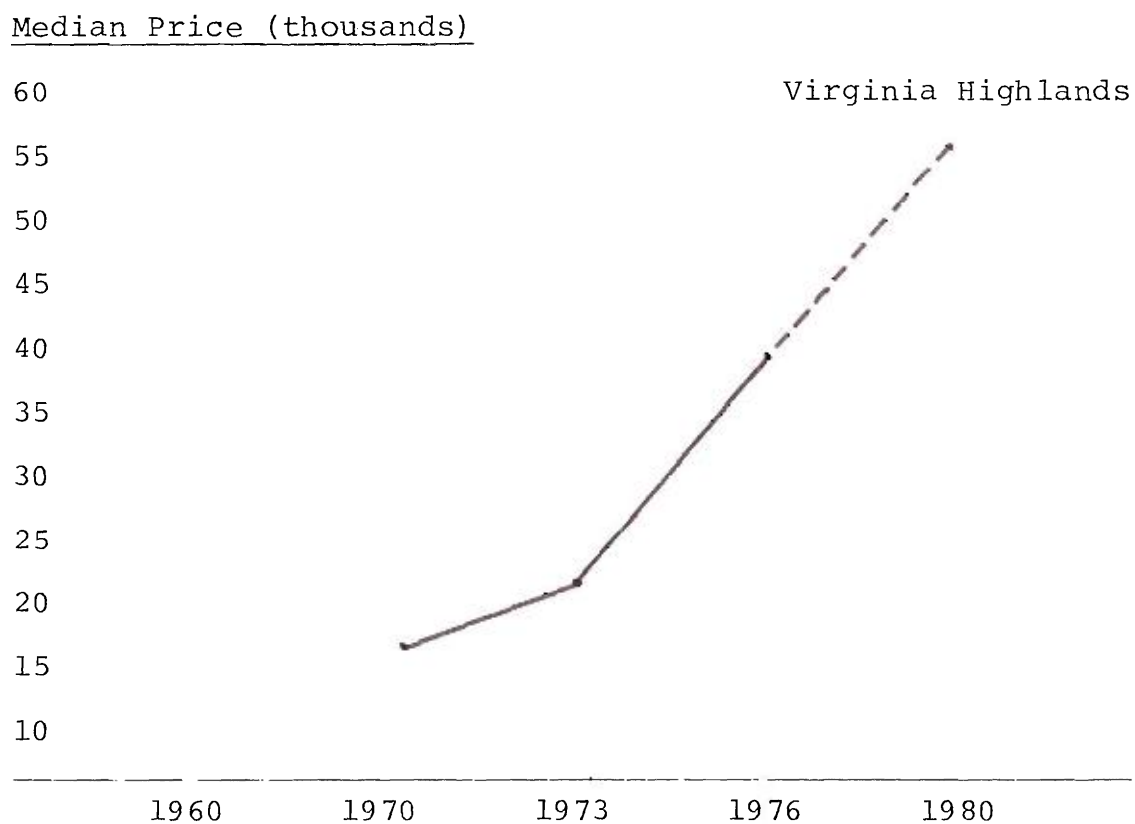


Figure 5. Median Price Single Family Homes Purchased in Virginia Highlands 1970-1976.

Source: Atlanta Neighborhoods, Atlanta Public Library, Atlanta, Georgia, 1976; S. McWilliams, Master's Thesis, G.S.U., Urban Life Program, Atlanta, Georgia, 1973; and Real Estate Interviews, December 1976, Atlanta, Georgia, 1976.

\$17,000 per dwelling since 1973. Assuming the median home value reflects the gravity of the cost increase trend in Virginia Highlands, the obvious conclusion is an increasing upper income immigration, a diminishing supply of low income homes and the subsequent destruction of the neighborhood's low income social and economic structure.

#### Estimated Number of Persons Displaced

Although no exact count of the number of low income persons who are displaced can be found in U. S. Census information or survey data, estimates can be obtained by tracing the demographic change of areas from low to upper income. This can be accomplished by calculating the average annual increase in upper income homeowners (homeowners were used to establish stability and investment potential in neighborhoods) in Virginia Highland and contrasting this figure to overall neighborhood population trends. During the 1971-1973 period, immigrant homeowners with an average income above \$15,000 increased seven percent annually. In this same length of time, the neighborhood lost an estimated 1.1 percent of its population (from 1960-1970 Census of Population Trends). As a stable, mildly declining area, the "at-risk," or potential displace population, would be proportionate to the higher income immigrant trend. At seven percent, by 1980 this could amount to an estimated 1,033 persons displaced. This assumes that the 1970-1976 upper income immigrations continue through 1980. According to local realtors this is likely. Although



the median values of homes in the neighborhood are increasing, the price is more than competitive with suburban units. Similarly there appears to be a continued preference for an urban intown lifestyle without strict regard for housing prices.

### Summary

What is highlighted in the comparison between the 1970 setting and the 1973 and 1976 investigations is the nature of the trend toward upper income residents. New settlers are better educated, have professional jobs and make considerably more money than typical previous residents. And this trend is accelerating. During the three-year period involved in the first investigation, several phases of new migrations occurred. Between April 1970 and March 1971, sixteen percent of the purchases were made. This climbed to thirty-eight percent the second year and thirty-nine percent in 1973. By 1976 median home costs increased by over \$20,000. There is every reason to believe the 1970-1976 migrations will continue as long as inexpensive homes are available for purchase. As this migration occurs, what is to happen to the low and fixed income residents of Virginia Highland? As the supply of inexpensive homes diminishes, where can low income residents find non-subsidized low cost housing? The housing supply of Virginia Highland is a limited resource and it is being used rapidly. When there are no inexpensive homes left, there will be few low income persons remaining in the community. New

intown neighborhood protection policies and programs are necessary to retain low income residents in their communities as they are rehabilitated. In the concluding chapter, a series of community controls are proposed for maintaining both a low and upper income character in convenient intown neighborhoods.

## FOOTNOTES CHAPTER III

1. Capitol Hill in D. C. began in 1965 and 1966.
2. Atlanta, Historical Photographs, Published by A.I.A., p. 154, Atlanta, Georgia, 1975.
3. U. S. Census of Population 1960 and 1970, Socio-Economic Characteristics, Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C., 1971.
4. Ibid.
5. Real Estate Atlanta, Intown Neighborhoods; Land Data Corporation, January 1976.
6. McWilliams, S., "Recycling a Declining Community," Atlanta, Georgia State University, 1973.
7. Ibid.
8. McWilliams, S., "Recycling a Declining Community," Atlanta, Georgia State University, 1973.
9. Atlanta Neighborhoods, Atlanta Public Library, Atlanta, Georgia, 1976.

## CHAPTER IV

### INTOWN RESIDENTIAL REHABILITATION

The preceding analyses demonstrate that, unopposed, the private local economy will displace low income residents from neighborhoods undergoing "revitalization." The planning policy response to this situation is based on community control of intown rehabilitation and consists of three elements: (1) Administering Planning Programs, (2) Investigating Neighborhood Conditions and (3) Citizen Planning Techniques.

1) Administering Planning Programs is to be developed with a needs-oriented funding allocation framework for implementing improvement programs. This commitment will insure that, as a matter of accepted policy, the poorest residents will not be omitted from the process because of non-participation;

2) Investigating Neighborhood Conditions. This investigation is based on a matrix detailing specific neighborhood conditions. Three sets of empirical criteria from the matrix are used: structural, environmental, and socio-economic conditions. A methodology has been developed for linking improvement activities to a neighborhood based upon its relative stage of decline.

3) Citizen Planning Techniques directly involves citizens in policy and decision-making at the neighborhood

level. The discussion recommends that citizen control of intown development can be achieved through various consortia of neighborhood groups and public/private ventures. Recommended policies and programs are examined which can retain low income residents in intown communities that are undergoing rehabilitation. In this investigation, several key policy programs are investigated which include:

- Limiting middle/upper income immigrations to fifty percent of the neighborhood population, stressing growth management controls.
- Applying rent controls to emphasize renter concerns in community restoration efforts.
- Encouraging joint private/public rehabilitation ventures.
- Develop neighborhood and community organization structures to design and implement neighborhood improvement activities.

#### Administering Planning Programs

This section describes the recommended means of allocating funds in intown rehabilitation programs and citizen and municipal roles in the administration process.

#### Needs Emphasis in Funding Allocation

The policy for deciding which neighborhoods receive intown rehabilitation funds should be based upon investigated

needs of each community's physical and social environment. This policy is the basis for the needs emphasis; the neighborhoods in a stage of major deterioration obviously have the greatest needs.

This needs emphasis is recommended because it directly attacks critical problems and because it creates a self-fulfilling prophecy of self-help and community interest where it is most visible. The needs emphasis is applied in conjunction with the Matrix of Neighborhood Change which correctly identifies the relative incline or decline of each neighborhood's stage of change.

The matrix and needs emphasis work best in a declining or low income neighborhood, and less well as a community becomes increasingly middle and upper income. This is true because middle class people are more assertive and are oriented toward promoting their values and needs and not lower income needs. In upper or middle class areas which are improving, planners need to advocate with and on behalf of the low income constituents of those areas.

Community organization is crucial. Programs to assist low income residents to become organized and to participate effectively in their own governance must be established by the city. In the absence of organized low income groups, planners must personally insure low income representation in rehabilitation and funding allocation efforts.

How to allocate limited resources among numerous needy

intown neighborhoods is a difficult decision. The following discussion analyses the triage allocation method, which was developed for the national Department of Housing and Urban Development as a guide for allocating community development funds. In its application, the key element is its classification of neighborhoods by stage of change. The neighborhood condition classification system is useful in identifying target areas within each neighborhood. This element was adapted to the protection policy developed for Atlanta's neighborhoods.

Triage refers to a three part allocation process. According to its specific use during World War II, the term referred to a physician's choice in picking patients to save among those injured. Soldiers were divided into three groups, separating those with minor, serious, and fatal wounds. The physicians provided care to the seriously wounded first, leaving the minor and fatally wounded soldiers till last. This would theoretically save the most persons, making the most efficient use of available time. In applying triage to the distribution of community development funds among intown neighborhoods, the neighborhoods, like the soldiers, are divided into three groups, separating those with minor, serious and very serious urban problems. Funds are applied according to the stage of neighborhood deterioration, with in-between areas receiving the most direct aid.

Triage planning, as discussed in Recommendation for

Community Development Planning by Anthony Downs, refers to the technique of leveraging public funds from the viewpoint of physical and fiscal efficiency only, (that is achieving maximum physical improvement per dollar of public funds spent); it is far more effective to spend money in these in-between areas than in either healthy areas (which do not need it) or in very deteriorated ones (which will absorb large amounts of such funds but show relatively little physical improvement).

The benefits are dispersed according to the stage of decline of each neighborhood as shown in Figure 6. Benefits are not interchangeable at all levels. For example, code enforcement for areas in the stage of minor deterioration would strengthen the neighborhood structures. However, in an area which has reached a stage of major deterioration, strict code enforcement would contribute to deterioration and force residents out of their homes.

This procedure is oriented toward benefiting the maximum number of persons with limited financial resources. It attempts to save marginal neighborhoods at the expense of more deteriorated areas.

Several problems exist with triage.

- 1) Highly deteriorated neighborhoods have considerable potential for self-renewal which will be neglected.
- 2) Triage assumes the concept of trickling down or the filtering of residential occupancy will lead to the inevitable



Characteristics		Changes
I	Sociological stable family structures.	Up
	High property values.	Down
	Excellent residential maintenance.	
Characteristics		Changes
II	Increasing elderly population.	
	Fluctuating property values.	Up
	Increasing renter-occupied.	Down
	Declining residential maintenance	
	Intruding commercial or industrial strip development.	
Characteristics		Changes
III	Inceasing low income population.	
	Declining property values.	Up
	Increasing vacant/abandoned units.	Down
	Poor residential maintenance.	
	Intruding commercial or industrial strip development.	
Characteristics		Changes
DECLINE	Low income population.	
	Low property values.	Up
	Abandoned and cleared units.	Down
	Declining commercial and/or industrial uses.	

Figure 6. Stage of Neighborhood Change.

end of a neighborhood. However, heavily deteriorated neighborhoods do not necessarily empty out residents unless assisted by major urban renewal efforts.

3) Social welfare programs which are proposed for low income residents are generally insufficient to correct even the mildest physical problems in declining areas.

4) No set dollar figure can cure even mildly declining (in-between) neighborhoods. Community is a feeling of confidence in the neighborhood as well as brick and mortar.

The use of triage planning principles is a recognized management practice with obvious faults and strengths. The strength of the process is in the identification of each stage of neighborhood decline.

The premise of the suggested needs emphasis funding allocation scheme is that, where neighborhoods are abandoned, they will fall. To avoid this, it is important to develop a framework at the rehabilitation program's origin which stresses proportional funding of activities on a needs basis. This commitment insures that low income problems and needs are given priority consideration when options for intown redevelopment are chosen. Generally, previously unrepresented and neglected problems would then be dealt with directly.

In neighborhoods, or leagues of neighborhoods, the needs emphasis framework should be written into a Charter by incorporating each entity with specific low income group representation. The needs emphasis framework is a commitment

to maintain an economically balanced composition of residents in inner city neighborhoods.

#### Citizens and Municipal Roles

Public involvement by residents is necessary to establish need priorities. Intown neighborhoods have several community control options at their disposal including: Community Advisory Councils, Neighborhood Improvement Organizations, Neighborhood Services Programs, Community Design Centers, and Non-Profit Housing Corporations. These organizations provide a vehicle, an infrastructure, for public involvement in neighborhood decision-making.

Generally, the availability of these agencies is limited. Although there is a dire need for localized decision-making, municipalities do not make proper use of these resources.

This paper proposes that municipalities present neighborhoods with an option to centralized planning and decision-making. Several important reasons contribute to the need for these neighborhood control options.

- Limited municipal dollars and manpower for local planning efforts is a major concern. Insufficient technical manpower, time, and funding curtailments, prevent Atlanta planners from much more than coordination of private local planning efforts.
- Planning, budgeting and implementation of programs are not directly tied to one administrative process. Citywide plans are designed by the Department of

Planning and Budget but funding is controlled by the Department of Community and Human Development. This fragmented process creates a major dilemma for intown residents and planners desirous of technical assistance or guidance.

- Constraints on implementation of city decisions exist within the city government. Because several departments and agencies implement their own plans, essential coordination is lacking. The Department of Environment and Streets for example, performs its functions independently, the housing authority is also independent in its activities.
- Existing neighborhood planning groups, volunteers, and advisory organizations do much of the city's neighborhood planning work. These entities should be integrated into the overall municipal planning process.

These considerations indicate that the present role of neighborhood planning in intown rehabilitation needs to be revised.

The Department of Budget and Planning should present a framework to each neighborhood for direct neighborhood planning and encourage local volunteer assistance to establish a neighborhood planning organization appropriate to its needs. Statistical and planning requirements would be established for an organization conducting neighborhood planning. The basic

requirements would include a citizen needs assessment for developing the proposed Neighborhood Change Matrix. Resources identification and services inventory would be a shared function with the Department of Budget and Planning.

Selection of a neighborhood planning group would be determined by ongoing public forums in each area. At a series of these forums, citizens would vote for the type of neighborhood organization they prefer.

A Policy Decision Chart (Figure 7) would be prepared to introduce several of the options which residents will have available to them. The chart which follows could be used as a sample item. Residents would select those options which they consider most appropriate and be encouraged to develop their own options.

Charters for the approval and enactment of the planning entity would include a "needs emphasis mandate," in which rehabilitation and service priorities are determined by need.

Neighborhoods choosing not to participate with existing or proposed community planning agencies would receive continued direct assistance from the city agency. This arrangement would still utilize existing and potential neighborhood resources. Manpower can be shifted from technical assistance to a number of well-off intown communities to neighborhoods which are having difficulty organizing.

The net effect of this process would be to better coordinate public and private human resources. By including

Figure 7. Policy Decision Chart.

<u>Level of Commitment</u>	<u>Planning</u>	<u>Administration</u>	<u>Programming/Financing</u>
Short-Term Duration of Improvement Program (3-5 years)	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Schedule public improvement in target areas.</li> <li>2. Short-term planning between city and public agencies to foster 3-5 year low-moderate income home programs.</li> <li>3. Use of citizen committees for duration of Community Development Program</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Cooperative agreements with Housing Authority.</li> <li>2. Use of existing staff.</li> <li>3. Use of CETA workers.</li> <li>4. Citizen Advisory Committee for duration of Community Development Program.</li> <li>5. Creation of advocate organizations, i.e., Community Design Centers.</li> <li>6. Rent control.</li> <li>7. Neighborhood preservation ordinance.</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Site Maintenance programs.</li> <li>2. Vocational programs.</li> <li>3. Vest Pocket Parks.</li> <li>4. Crime prevention programs.</li> <li>5. New multi-level housing code enforcement programs.</li> <li>6. Spot clearance programs.</li> <li>7. Direct rehabilitation loans and grants.</li> <li>8. Environmental and beautification programs, i.e., wall murals, trees street furniture.</li> </ol>
Long-Term Continuously	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Data information base for monitoring housing conditions</li> <li>2. Defined coordinating role for agencies for low-moderate income home programs.</li> <li>3. Ongoing citizen participation complemented by study teams.</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Defined agreements to link Housing Authority city.</li> <li>2. Expansion of existing administrative staff</li> <li>3. Creation of Policy Monitoring Board.</li> <li>4. Creation of non-profit housing corporation.</li> <li>5. Creation of housing service programs to link public/private interests.</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Ongoing housing rehabilitation services program.</li> <li>2. Explicit appeals process, i.e., a housing court.</li> <li>3. Existing occupancy permit system.</li> <li>4. Home finance/rehabilitation counseling program.</li> <li>5. Public/private rehab. programs (tax and "sweat" labor rebates)</li> <li>6. CD monies as insurance on high risk loans.</li> </ol>

non-profit planning organizations in the municipal decision-making process, duplication is eliminated, gaps in local planning services are identified, and community organization and involvement is strengthened.

### Investigating Neighborhood Conditions

Five analyses of neighborhood conditions should be conducted in each of the neighborhoods. These analyses form the basis for the classification of neighborhoods into stages and directions of decline or rehabilitation as shown in Figure 6.

1. Structural Conditions
2. Land Use Conditions
3. Environmental Conditions
4. Socio-Economic Conditions (key variables)
5. Direction of Change Analysis

The investigations<sup>2</sup> are discussed here in terms of the survey methods.

### Structural Conditions

Structural conditions of all building units in neighborhood areas should be investigated initially. The survey would be a unit-by-unit investigation of the exterior of each structure.

### Methodology

The methodology would be based on a measuring scale developed for evaluating the exterior deterioration of building

units. The process would enable investigators to find a quantitative "score" for structures. Ratings would be based on a numerical index of 0-30 in which five categories of structural conditions receive scores (roof, walls, foundation, porch, and protective treatment). Cumulative scores would be tabulated to indicate the overall condition of each unit. These scores would be the basis for analyzing neighborhoods as illustrated below.

<u>STRUCTURAL SURVEY</u>	<u>RATING</u>
Roof	0-8
Walls and Siding	0-8
Foundation	0-8
Porches	0-4
Protective Treatment	0-2
Cumulative Score:	0-30

Cumulative Score = 0-2 Sound

4-8 Deficient

10-22 Deteriorated

24-30 Dilapidated

By compiling the structural condition scores of each unit, overall neighborhood conditions can be obtained. Each neighborhood should then be analyzed to determine structural and environmental conditions which place it in one of the following stages of development:



STRUCTURAL CONDITIONCUMULATIVE SCORES

Sound: No deterioration occurring properties are well-maintained, and with a good appearance.

85% or more Sound Units, or less than 3% Dilapidated.

Minor Deterioration: In transition from one use or occupation to another. Characterized by neglected painting, and yard maintenance.

70-85% Sound Units, or 3-5% Dilapidated.

Major Deterioration: Involves a declining population, rising number of low income residents.

55-70% Sound Units, or 5-8% Dilapidated.

Decline: Predominantly low income population, large number of dilapidated homes, vandalism, and poor public maintenance.

Less than 55% Sound Units, or 8% or more Dilapidated.

Land Use

A land use survey should be conducted to inventory existing use of property and structures in the neighborhoods. The survey would cover size major land uses: single family and multi-family, residential, commercial, industrial, institutional, recreational, vacant and open space. Acreages for land uses should be compiled to indicate the area available for development. Two maps should be developed to illustrate past and existing "use configurations," such as strip commercial and multi-family developments and industrial expansion areas. These configurations would highlight "use" trends to be projected to community decision-makers. The maps would show the location of commercial and residential growth patterns.

### Environmental Conditions

An environmental condition survey should be completed in each neighborhood to determine where significant environmental deficiencies exist. This section describes the methodology and analysis of the survey. Four environmental conditions are investigated:

1. Commercial and industrial building conditions.
2. Mixed land uses.
3. Site maintenance.
4. Environmental pollution.

### Methodology

The methodology used in the environmental condition should be based on an evaluation of each of the four areas. Evaluation procedures are discussed below.

Commercial and Industrial Building Conditions in each community should be analyzed and defined in terms of three categories: Adequate = less than 40 percent of structures are deficient; Deficient = sixty percent or more of the structures require immediate maintenance; and Very Deficient = twenty percent or more of the structures are dilapidated.

Mixed Land Uses would be analyzed by evaluating how well residential land uses are isolated from non-residential uses. The following criteria should be used:

Adequate - residential areas

- completely buffered from commercial and industrial uses by distance or physical barriers;
- more than 500 feet from a major street;
- over 1000 feet from a railroad track.

Deficient - residential areas

- incompletely buffered from commercial and industrial uses by distance or physical barriers;
- between 300 to 500 feet from a major street;
- between 500 to 1000 feet from a railroad track.

Very Deficient - residential areas

- inadequately buffered;
- located fewer than 300 feet from a major street;
- between 500 feet from a railroad track.

Site Maintenance surveys should be used to determine sanitary conditions in each community. Three categories can be used: adequate, deficient, and very deficient, which indicates the degree of site maintenance in each area. A detailed discussion of the criteria for evaluating site maintenance conditions is included in the appendix.

Environmental Pollution regarding noise, air and water,

would be the final evaluation areas. A survey should be taken of the following three conditions in each neighborhood to determine the extent of environmental pollution:

1. Noise - transportation
  - commercial/industrial
  - undefined
2. Air - transportation
  - commercial/industrial
  - undefined
3. Water - soil erosion/leaching
  - commercial/industrial
  - waste/sewage
  - undefined

By compiling the environmental condition scores of each investigation area, overall neighborhood ratings can be obtained. An earlier part of this analysis involved the classification of neighborhoods into stages of progression or decline (sound, minor and major deterioration, final decline) based upon structural conditions. A similar classification system is to be used in the environmental analysis.

Environmental survey ratings should be translated from the Adequate, Deficient, Very Deficient categories to a numerical rating system which would allow investigators to find a quantitative "score" for neighborhoods. Rating would be based on a numerical index of 0-12 in which six categories

of environmental conditions receive scores (commercial and industrial building conditions, mixed land uses, site maintenance, and three forms of environmental pollution - air, noise, and water). Cumulative scores should be tabulated to indicate the overall condition of each neighborhood.

The numerical scores would be analyzed as follows for each of the six investigations:

<u>ENVIRONMENTAL SURVEY</u>	<u>RATING</u>
Commercial and Industrial Building Conditions	0-2
Mixed Land Uses	0-2
Site Maintenance	0-2
Environmental Pollution	
Air	0-2
Noise	0-2
Water	0-2
Cumulative Score	0-12
Cumulative Score =	
0-2	Sound
3-5	Minor Deteriorated
6-8	Major Deteriorated
9-12	Final Decline

#### Environmental Legend

Adequate = 0 points  
 Deficient = 1 point  
 Very Deficient = 2 points

#### Socio-Economic Conditions

Five socio-economic criteria are used as measures of the condition of neighborhood residents. Emphasis is placed upon identifying those particular persons and groups that are least able to participate in neighborhood improvement

activities.

Investigation of socio-economic variables of various populations is achieved through analysis of 1970 Census Block Counts and Polk Data.<sup>3</sup> Proportions drawn from these findings are applied to updated projections of the neighborhood population. Variables used should minimally include the following socio-economic criteria (shown in Figure 8).

#### Elderly and Handicapped

Data on the elderly and handicapped are needed by federal funding agencies as a major requirement for community development programs.<sup>4</sup> Past investigations in urban renewal indicate that elderly homeowners have a large share of inner city home maintenance problems. Special hardships characterize the elderly and handicapped populations. Among these are: lack of physical ability and stamina to maintain their homes according to municipal code standards, and 2) fixed incomes which do not generate sufficient money for major home repairs. Elderly residents however, are in most instances, very dedicated to their communities. Investment in elderly maintenance efforts is a mandate for stability in the community. These residents will not likely leave the community when homes are rehabilitated or brought up to code.

#### Large Families

The large size of families is a good indicator of home maintenance needs. Large families generally produce more

"wear and tear" on residences. Special socio-economic service needs are also intrinsically tied to a accumulations of large families in neighborhoods.

#### Female Head of Households

The families with female head of the household also demand priority attention. Supervision of children, day care facilities, and special school needs characterize important elements to be considered in one-parent households. Areas with a high proportion of female head of households require special notation.

#### Minorities

To a large degree, minority groups are still low income. Where special concentrations of minorities (Black, Spanish, Latin, Oriental) are identified, these should be noted for focused neighborhood improvements. In most instances, federal funding requirements mandate proportionate intown improvements which address minority needs.

#### Below Poverty Level

The most significant factor in declining neighborhoods is the large number of residents below poverty level. Here residents simply lack the money to repair and maintain their homes. Particular emphasis in funding and providing services is needed in high poverty areas. This emphasis should include all improvement benefits discussed earlier or major program

elements indicated on the Neighborhood Improvement Matrix.

#### Direction of Change Analysis

Policy and legislative programs, as described in this section, are most effective when linked to investigative mechanisms which accurately measure neighborhood change. Sample surveys of housing values and rents are critical to the recommended planning process. These analysis substantiate important displacement indicators in the community's housing market. In addition, these surveys pinpoint whether each neighborhood is improving, declining or remaining stable. As a result of this information, neighborhood planners are able to assist residents in choosing among the rehabilitation and planning options available to them.

#### Neighborhood Improvement Matrix

A Neighborhood Improvement Matrix is shown on the following page. The Matrix illustrates the level of physical problems and the range of revitalization tools available. The basic principle involved in the allocation process is to distribute benefits in terms of neighborhood conditions. How benefits<sup>5</sup> relate to three-to-four stages of neighborhood change shown in Figure 8, is a major part of the allocation strategy.

Sound Neighborhoods. Neighborhood groups should determine their response to their neighborhood's direction of change. Declining neighborhoods will likely want to develop programs to attract new residents, block school closing, and



Figure 8. Neighborhood Improvement Matrix.

Neighborhood	Stage of Change	Overall Area Conditions			Policy Options for Neighborhoods in State of:		
		Structural	Environment Rating Score	Socio-Economic	Sound and Minor Deterioration	Major Deterioration	Deterioration
	— Sound	— % Sound Units	— Commercial and industry building conditions	— % Elderly and handicapped	— Public high risk loan guarantees	— Vest pocket parks	— Increased police and fire services
	— Minor	— % Dilapidated Units	— Mixed land uses	— % Large families	— Non-profit groups — CDC's — HSA's — Other	— Spot clearance	— Public employment
	— Major		— Site maintenance	— % Female head of households	— Tax rebates	— Housing allowances	— Vocational training
	— Deterioration		— Pollution — Noise — Air — Water	— % Minorities — Black — Spanish — Other	— "Sweat" labor rebates	— Public housing	— Local business loans
				— % Below poverty level	— Multi-level code enforcement	— Public rehabilitation	— Site maintenance programs
					— Home finance counseling	— Environmental repair, i.e., noise absorbing barriers	— Increased trash collection
					— Wall murals and paintings	— Community organizations	— Day care services
					— Housing court	— Neighborhood planning	— Rent controls
					— Existing occupancy permit program		— Urban homesteading

bend off highway improvements which begin to set the stage for decline. Stable and improving neighborhoods in this category will seek to keep what they have.

Minor Deteriorated Areas. As before neighborhood groups should determine their response to their neighborhood's direction of change. Declining neighborhoods will quite likely develop a set of programs similar to those described for declining sound neighborhoods. Stable and improving neighborhoods will frequently be split into two groups: 1) Those seeking to push the neighborhood toward rehabilitation, 2) Those who would be displaced by a rehabilitation effort. As pointed out consistently throughout this research planning policy must be directed towards the second group.

Major Deterioration and Decline. According to the needs emphasis framework, major deteriorated neighborhoods should receive priority in the allocation of funds. Major commitments of planning staff time should be directed towards these neighborhoods. Where community organization exist they should be integrated into the planning process. Where community organizations do not exist, a community organization effort, possibly using the Economic Opportunity Atlanta, should be undertaken.

The Matrix demonstrates an effective, systematic means of attacking intown problems. What is most useful, is the classification system for categorizing neighborhoods by their respective levels of decline. This allows planners to direct

treatment to the appropriate illness. Policy options are often interchangeable in the various stages of neighborhood change, however the Matrix acts as a guide for choosing among the alternatives. Whereas "impact"<sup>6</sup> is considerably more subjective, and limiting treatment to where it will do the most good is often politically misspent money. The classification system, coupled with a low income needs emphasis, that is, proportionately putting the dollars where the need is, allows residents to clearly review and make decisions regarding improvement activities.

#### Recommending Citizen Planning Techniques

Earlier sections of Chapter IV introduced means of administering planning programs and investigating neighborhood conditions. The final element of intown residential rehabilitation is recommending citizen planning techniques. This discussion examines how successful non-profit neighborhood planning organizations have developed programs and policy which accomplish their goals. This section is intended to serve as a guide to similar groups in Atlanta.

The final part of this section examines specific policies and programs which the Department of Planning and Budget should consider promoting to protect intown neighborhoods.

#### Neighborhood Planning Organizations

Effective organization is needed to involve all

community resources in the residential rehabilitation process. Because the neighborhood problems include unemployment, high crime rates, vandalism, etc., as well as housing, a myriad of forces are needed to combat neighborhood decline. A consortium of resources is necessary to make a rehabilitation impact. Several groups can effectively integrate planning and management procedures for rehabilitated housing programs. They are described below:

1) Neighborhood Action Councils<sup>7</sup> are organized by citizens to identify neighborhood needs and problems and to organize improvement activities. In Medford, Oregon, a Neighborhood Action Council was designed to combat residential decline in the Berrydale-Howard area. The program allows the city to play the role of a catalyst for information and referral while NAC identified priorities and solutions regarding public works and facilities. The NAC receives only in-kind contributions and volunteer support from the neighborhood and city. Program strengths include: the identification of problems by residents, not government; involvement of private commercial interests in the solutions proposed; and no financial involvement of the city.

2) Urban Homesteading Assistance Board<sup>8</sup> (U-HAB) is a non-profit housing service designed to restore near dilapidated homes in transitional communities. The program is in New York City and provides guidance to residents in making their way through bureaucratic red tape and to assist in

co-op rehabilitation. Major elements of the program are:

- Interested homeowners are banded together to rehabilitate structures;
- Rehabilitation groups are brought into New York City's Sweat Equity Program;
- The resident group is aided in incorporating to qualify for federal funding;
- U-HAB provides seed money for purchases through federal contacts, estimates costs of rehabilitation, aids in legal purchase of structure activities, and insures the building;
- U-HAB also gives construction training assistance, including a materials purchaser, licensed journeymen and architects.

Programs strengths are: the loan arrangements allow residents to raise the quality of their environment at minimum costs; municipal loans are city-controlled and cost the city very little; and the homesteaders pay more interest to the city than the city does to its bond holders.

3) Neighborhood Housing Services<sup>9</sup> in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania was developed to preserve and stabilize a neighborhood through capital investment and extensive rehabilitation, and financial assistance. The joint public-private venture was governed by a Board of Directors which includes eight residents, four bank representatives, two

government representatives, and a person from the Historic Landmarks Foundation.

The program successfully provided 325 high risk loans and largely stabilized a very deteriorating neighborhood. Program strengths are: its enforcement of code standards are flexible and supplemented by financial assistance; improvement activities are matched to the level of neighborhood decline; and, all residents and representatives involved are active in decision-making.

4) Housing Now, Inc.,<sup>10</sup> is a non-profit housing corporation in Hartford, Connecticut. It was designed to increase homeownership among low income families through grants for downpayments and closing costs; provide homeownership counseling; and to assist renters in obtaining grants for security deposits. Particular strengths of the program include its financial expertise and homeownership counseling.

5) In Cincinnati a Working Review Committee on Housing is the institutional mechanism used to carry out neighborhood improvement strategies. This committee is composed of public agencies who construct homes, private builders, realtors, council representatives, neighborhood groups, churches and city administrators. Ongoing involvement in the policy process accomplishes several purposes:

- Creates clear positions regarding roles of developers, financial institutions and residents in each neighborhood.

- Defines residential rehabilitation strategies;
- Creates a forum for defining goals, and providing statistical data for improvement recommendation.

Programs strengths are: extensive public-private involvement in rehabilitation activities; and a useful housing information system which monitors the condition of Cincinnati's housing stock.

6) Community Design Centers are non-profit planning organization which provides free technical assistance to community planning groups. Over seventy centers exist throughout the country, including Atlanta. Design Centers are involved in the following activities: design and develop sites for low income housing and public facilities; advocacy planning and programming assistance to community groups; information and referral services; neighborhood crime prevention; and free architectural services to low income persons.

Strengths of the program are: large reservoir of professional volunteers from AIP, AIA, ASLA,...; residents' control and management of improvement projects; low cost of maintaining the center, based upon in-kind professional services, VISTA, volunteers, and CETA persons.

CDC programs successfully involve residents in the management of improvement activities.

The neighborhood planning organizations have several common attributes. They are effective management and planning devices. Cooperative relationships with public agencies

insure that rehabilitation includes all participants in the planning process. Because public-private linkages are needed to attract major capital resources into the community, this coordination mechanism is a natural conduit for funding and implementation of residential rehabilitation programs.

#### Policy and Program Legislation

Important policy and program legislation should be made initially as the localized planning effort begins. The direction of the community planning organizations will be geared to low income protection policies. On a needs basis, its proposals will act to rehabilitate neighborhood conditions and prevent the displacement of low income persons from that neighborhood as residential changes occur.

Low income protection policies and programs are examined below that would be useful to transitional intown neighborhoods. These are discussed as follows:

- 1) Growth Management Controls can be implemented that limit middle class immigration to intown areas. A set figure, such as fifty percent, can be maintained by use of growth control legislation similar to that enacted in Boca Raton, Florida. The legislation establishes growth limits based upon certain quality of life indicators and municipal service capabilities. Quality of life indicators such as open space, recreational facilities and fresh water resources are measured on an index to determine what constitutes minimum environmental needs. Concurrently the indicators establish



resources before new migrants. This argument is metaphorically similar to the legal questions over riparian and proprietary water rights. First claim to water resources is by local landowners with persons downstream having second claim.

Municipal resources such as police, fire, educational, sewage and filtration services, are also examined based upon similar resource capacity questions. Internal community growth beyond a community's ability to provide adequate municipal services constitutes an infringement or, "taking," of the quality of life of local residents.

Both growth control arguments are controversial but are receiving considerable attention in legal battles throughout the country. Growth management controls are an effective means of limiting any migration into popular intown areas. Selective development intown can be established by use of the Neighborhood Change Matrix to define resource and service limits. In-between neighborhoods would probably set no more than a 50% long range rehabilitation goal. In all instances the actual percent would be empirically determined by neighborhood conditions and citizen affirmation. Neighborhoods, just as water, consist of a continuous flow of its own substance. Where demands for housing or water are great, conservation controls can preserve the flow.

2) Neighborhood Preservation Ordinances in use in Berkeley, California can be enacted. As a transitional neighborhood in the 1970's, Berkeley became concerned about

the displacement of low income persons from areas of the community being rehabilitated.

In order to deal with the conflict between current development trends and local needs, the Neighborhood Preservation Ordinance establishes a planning process involving resident participation to update the Master Plan and zoning ordinance; and provides interim controls on demolition and new construction by means of special use permits to channel development.<sup>11</sup>

The ordinance contained a provision for resident review at the neighborhood level for proposed development. Use permits are required for both new construction and demolition. The permit system is intrinsically tied to these provisions:

- Public Notification;
- Affirmative Action;
- Twenty-five percent low income units in buildings of four or more units;
- Environmental Impact Statement;
- Zoning Ordinance Compliance;
- Compatibility with public health, safety, and welfare regulations.

Growth Management Alternatives allow communities to choose their rate of change and monitor its results. In addition, extensive citizen input is utilized.

3) Rent Control Programs can also be utilized as a community control policy for high renter occupied neighborhoods. Where there is an absence of pre-emptive state legislation, as in Georgia, cities may enact rent control

measures<sup>12</sup> according to a recent court case.<sup>13</sup> Rent control measures can be used to establish maximum or ceiling rents for transitional areas. As in Berkeley, control of rent increases enables the existing residents of a neighborhood to manage the change and preservation of their community.

4) Code Enforcement Policy<sup>14</sup> approaches can be tailored to include multiple enforcement levels of the same code and mandatory inspections at tenure changes. Numerous similar code policies, including apartment licensing in Michigan and Nebraska, and property maintenance programs in Inglewood, California, can be utilized. Community Development funds may be used to pay for rent increases which are necessitated by code enforcement programs.

5) Structural rehabilitation evolves from mortgage insurance programs and their applicability to high risk loans for low to moderate income residents of intown neighborhoods. A policy, proposing conservation of the existing central city housing stock should be developed similar to the FHA World War II mortgage program which guaranteed veterans high-risk, low cost loans. On a localized level, high-risk mortgage loan pools need to be developed to offer rehabilitation and purchase rights to low and moderate income residents of intown communities. Section 223 (f) of the Housing and Community Development Act authorizes mortgage insurance for the purchase of, and refinancing of, multi-family housing.<sup>15</sup> Funds from these local and federal sources should be utilized

to eliminate intown redlining.

### Summary

Definite commitments to public involvement and low income residents' needs are necessary to prevent the displacement of low income persons in urban neighborhoods. These commitments can be obtained through various forms of neighborhood controls and improvement programs. However, an extraordinary amount of leadership and effort are required to generate self-renewal programs in rehabilitation areas. The greater the turnover in residency for each neighborhood, the greater the difficulty in enlisting community involvement.

In this paper, selected cases were investigated and policy options discussed. Several needed policies became obvious. Some require personal and direct citizen involvement in policy making and other require municipal action. Together, all of the policy options discussed are not enough to fully solve the urban problems of the intown neighborhoods. But intelligent use of scarce resources can make an important contribution to preventing the displacement of low income persons from intown neighborhoods as they enter the residential rehabilitation process.

Footnotes to Chapter IV

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## APPENDIX I

Price Range of Rents in Ansley Park for Apartments  
With More Than Ten Units

Single Bedrooms

Kingloff and Travis Piedmont and Park	\$185
Ed Barnum Realty 1036 Piedmont	\$145-150
Colony Square Peachtree and 14th	\$395-450
Lafayette Apartments 55 Lafayette	\$185
Ansley Arms Piedmont and 15th	\$240
116 Walker Terrace Walker and Lafayette	\$220
Thomas Hicks Barksdale and Lafayette	\$235-260
Tom Sims Realty 16th Street	\$185

## APPENDIX II



Interview # \_\_\_\_\_

MIDDLE CLASS MIGRATION TO AN IN-TOWN NEIGHBORHOOD

Interview Form - Resident Property Owner

October 1973

Sybil McWilliams

Interviewer \_\_\_\_\_

Phone # \_\_\_\_\_

Date of Interview \_\_\_\_\_

## Interview Form - Resident Property Owner

1. We are interested in the adults who live here. For all persons 18 years old and over, would you give me the following information. There is no need to give names, but start with yourself first.

adult	age	employed yes no	occupation	relation to you	sex M F	race	highest grade of school completed
1							
2							
3							
4							
5							
6							

2. Do you engage in any other activities which you consider your occupation but for which you earn limited or no income? What are these? (Be sure to differentiate between an occupation and a hobby.)

1. interviewee: \_\_\_\_\_

What about the other adults in this household?

adult 2	
3	
4	
5	
6	

## Interview Form - Resident Property Owner

3. What is the current school status of the adults in this household?

adult	relation to you	enrolled in school		name of school	type of school	grade level	major field of study
		yes	no				
1							
2							
3							
4							
5							
6							

4. For all the adults living in this home can you estimate the combined income for last year? (show selections)

a. ___ \$3,999 or less	d. ___ \$12,000-\$14,999
b. ___ \$4,000-\$7,999	e. ___ \$15,000-\$24,999
c. ___ \$8,000-\$11,999	f. ___ \$25,000 and over

5. Many people move for various reasons, can you think of the three most important reasons why you moved here to this community?

a. \_\_\_\_\_

b. \_\_\_\_\_

c. \_\_\_\_\_

## Interview Form - Resident Property Owner

6. When you decided to live in this community were any of the following factors a major determinant. Rate each factor on a "5" to "1" scale, with "5" as very important and "1" as not important at all.

- |                                |   |   |   |   |   |
|--------------------------------|---|---|---|---|---|
| a. proximity to a university   | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| name of university _____       |   |   |   |   |   |
| b. many of your friends lived  | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| in this community              |   |   |   |   |   |
| c. close proximity to downtown | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| Atlanta                        |   |   |   |   |   |
| d. relative low cost housing   | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| for the amount of space        |   |   |   |   |   |
| e. preference for an old house | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| f. you did not want to live    | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| in the suburbs                 |   |   |   |   |   |
| g. close proximity to your job | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| h. close proximity to job of   | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| another adult in this house    |   |   |   |   |   |
| specify _____                  |   |   |   |   |   |
| i. close proximity to a school | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| other than a university        |   |   |   |   |   |
| specify _____                  |   |   |   |   |   |
| j. other _____                 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| _____                          |   |   |   |   |   |

7. What do you think will be the future of this community?

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8. What is the age of this house? \_\_\_\_\_
9. What is the purchase of this house? \$ \_\_\_\_\_

## APPENDIX III

## CRITERIA FOR GRADING EACH ELEMENT OF HOUSING STRUCTURE

ROOF

## Grade 0 - Sound Condition

- The roof has no visible defects except recent damage which will be corrected.
- The chimney has no visible defects.

## Grade 1 - Deficient Condition

- The roof line and surface must be straight and level.
- The protective roof material shows signs of aging or buckling. Corners of shingles may be curled. Portion of roof may show need of spot repairs.
- Chimney is straight but shows signs of aging with loose or deteriorating mortar.

## Grade 2 - Deteriorated Condition

- The roof line and surface may appear to have a slight sag.
- Some protective roofing material may be missing or rotting.
- Chimney is tilting or leaning with mortar and bricks missing or falling out.

## Grade 3 - Dilapidated Condition

- The roof lines and surfaces show a major sag.
- Protective roofing material no longer protects the roof surface.

## WALLS AND SIDING

### Grade 0 - Sound Condition

- The walls are vertical and the siding has no visible defects.

### Grade 1 - Deficient Condition

- The walls must be plumb or vertical.
- Siding may show slight signs of warping or bowing.
- Asbestos shingles or related covering materials may be cracked, chipped or aging but not missing.

### Grade 2 - Deteriorated Condition

- The walls may not appear to be completely vertical or plumb.
- Walls have a convex or concave appearance (check foundation closely).
- Some siding is sagging or missing.

### Grade 3 - Dilapidated Condition

- The walls are not plumb and show a definite tilt or lean. (More than one wall unless lean or tilt is very pronounced.)
- Walls and siding are sagging.
- Several portions of the siding are missing and damaged, exposing the interior walls and studs to weathering elements. (Substantial rot has occurred.)

## FOUNDATION

### Grade 0 - Sound Condition

- The foundation has no visible defects.

### Grade 1 - Deficient Condition

- Foundation level, showing no signs of sag or cracking.



- The foundation material (concrete, brick or cinder block) may show signs of weathering or surface deterioration.
- The air space under building is not fully enclosed by foundation or skirting.

#### Grade 2 - Deteriorated Condition

- Extensive deterioration of the foundation material and major cracks may exist, but the foundation has not caused the structure to sag or sink.

#### Grade 3 - Dilapidated Condition

- The foundation is sinking or sagging, particularly at corners.
- Substantial holes appear in foundation and is causing walls to lean.

### WINDOWS AND DOORS

#### Grade 0 - Sound Condition

- The overall condition of the windows and doors should be very good. Only deficiencies which appear to have been caused by a recent accident should be acceptable.
- Screens are tight with no tears, holes or rusting spots.

#### Grade 1 - Deficient Condition

- Windows and doors are plumb and weathertight.
- Deterioration in glazing, joints, or moldings exists.
- Window panes may be cracked but intact.
- Screens are missing or severely damaged.

#### Grade 2 - Deteriorated Condition

- Windows and doors are not weathertight (noticeable spaces between windows/doors and siding).
- Frames, sashes and doors are out of plumb.

- Portions of doors and windows are missing.
- Most frames are warped or separated.

Grade 3 - Dilapidated Condition

- Not applicable.

PORCHES, STAIRS, AND APPURTENANCES

Grade 0 - Sound Condition

- Porches, stairs, and appurtenances have no visible defects.
- Gutters and down spouts are intact and join together properly.

Grade 1 - Deficient Condition

- Porches, stairs, and overhang are plumb and safe to use.
- Wear, aging, minor cracks, and surface deterioration may exist.
- Gutters and down spouts may be loose or disconnected so that water is not properly drained.

Grade 2 - Deteriorated Condition

- Porches, stairs, and overhang sag and are out of plumb.
- Flooring, stairs, or supports are missing causing an unsafe condition.
- Gutters and down spouts are rusted, broken, and not functioning.

Grade 3 - Dilapidated Condition

- Not applicable.

PROTECTIVE TREATMENT

## Grade 0 - Sound Condition

- The overall condition of paint or other protective treatment is good. Some scaling is acceptable when it appears that normal maintenance will correct the situation.

## Grade 1 - Deficient Condition

- Protective treatment is missing on large areas of the building.
- Siding and trim have begun to deteriorate due to the lack of protective treatment.

## Grade 2 - Deteriorated Condition

- Not applicable.

## Grade 3 - Dilapidated Condition

- Not applicable.

## CRITERIA FOR GRADING ENVIRONMENTAL CONDITIONS

## (ZONE SURVEY)

1. Commercial and Industrial Building Conditions:

- 1) Adequate - Forty percent or more of buildings in the zone are in need of little if any immediate maintenance with the remainder needing only routine maintenance corrections.
- 2) Deficient - More than 60% of the buildings in the zone require immediate maintenance but not more than 20% of the buildings are dilapidated (beyond repair or extremely expensive to repair).
- 3) Very Deficient - Twenty percent or more of the buildings in the zone are dilapidated.

2. Mixed Land Uses:

- a) Are there any incompatible land uses in the zone or surrounding zones (within 1000 feet)? Yes or No
- b) If yes, how well are residential areas insulated from nonresidential uses?
  - 1) Adequate - Residential areas are:
    - completely buffered from commercial and industrial uses by distance or physical barriers;
    - more than 500 feet from a major street;
    - over 1000 feet from railroad track;
    - have a NEF (if available) of less than 30.
  - 2) Deficient - residential areas are:
    - incompletely buffered from commercial and industrial uses;
    - between 300 to 500 feet from a major street;
    - between 500-1000 feet from a railroad track;
    - have a NEF (if available) of 30-40.

3) Very Deficient - residential areas are:

- inadequately buffered from, or contain numerous non-residential land uses;
- located fewer than 300 feet from a major street;
- less than 500 feet from a railroad track;
- have a NEF (if available) or more than 40.

3. Site Maintenance:

1) Adequate - residential areas in which:

- yards are suitable planted or paved in all weather material;
- sheds, garages and fences are in good condition;
- lots are free of visible trash or junk.

2) Deficient - residential areas in which:

- yards have many barren spots;
- landscaping is ill-kept;
- sheds, garages, and other accessory structures are in disrepair;
- small amounts of litter are visible.

3) Very Deficient - residential areas in which:

- yards are predominately barren of grass or other weather ground cover;
- accessory structures are badly deteriorated;
- large amounts of trash, junk, and abandoned vehicles or appliances litter the site.

4. Environmental Pollution:

- a) Are there any noticeable visible, audible or orderous environmental problems? Yes or No

b) If yes, indicate source and type of pollution, if possible.

- 1) Noise - Transportation
- 2) Noise - Commercial/Industrial
- 3) Noise - Undefined
- 4) Air - Transportation
- 5) Air - Commercial/Industrial
- 6) Air - Undefined
- 7) Water - Soil erosion or leaching
- 8) Water - Commercial/Industrial
- 9) Water - Trash/Waste/Sewage
- 10) Water - Undefined

## STRUCTURAL CONDITIONS SURVEY FORM

<u>FORM A</u>		<u>Rating</u>			<u>Deficiency Points</u>
	0	1	2	3	
Roof					_____
Walls and Siding					_____
Foundation					_____
Porches, Stairs & Appurtenances					_____
Protective Treatment					_____

## CUMULATIVE SCORE

## General Classification of the Structure

- 0 - 2 Sound
- 4 - 8 Deficient
- 10 - 22 Deteriorated
- 24 - 30 Dilapidated

ENVIRONMENTAL CONDITIONS SURVEY

DATA RECORD SHEET

(ZONES)

FORM B

zone # \_\_\_\_\_ zone # \_\_\_\_\_ zone # \_\_\_\_\_ zone # \_\_\_\_\_

Building Conditons

Land Uses (a)

(b)

Site Maintenance

Environmental  
Pollution Problems  
(a)

(b)

Special Comments (list by applicable zone):



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